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MEMORIALS

OF THE

PROFESSIONAL LIFE AND TIMES

OF

SIR WILLIAM PENN, Knt.

ADMIRAL AND GENERAL OF THE FLEET,
DURING THE INTERREGNUM;

ADMIRAL, AND COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY
AND NAVY,
AFTER THE RESTORATION.

FROM 1644 TO 1670.

By GRANVILLE PENN, Esq.

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ac

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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521.	11	to that great work we are indebted for the restoration of	in that great work he had the merit of restoring

MEMORIALS

OF THE

PROFESSIONAL LIFE AND TIMES

OF

SIR WILLIAM PENN, KNT. &c.

CHAPTER V.

1654—1655.

Service in the West Indies.

1654.

ON the 13th of December of the preceding year, the artifice of Cromwell had procured the self-dissolution of his first spurious parliament with the same facility with which his audacity had effected the interruption and dispersion of the remnant of the Long Parliament, eight months before; and, three days after, on the 16th of December, he accomplished the erection of his nominal Protectorate, by the constitution of which it was declared, that the legislative authority should reside "in one person, and the people assembled in

"parliament." And having now enthroned himself in supreme power, his avarice urged his ambition towards the Spanish wealth in the west; and he determined to force a quarrel with Spain, that he might create an occasion for seizing on a portion of it. Accordingly, in the autumn of the present year, 1654, he fitted out a large fleet, which he placed under the command of General Penn, and which was to receive on board an army under General Venables, to be employed against the Spanish possessions in America.

But, a great aversion towards the Protector's new scheme of government (soon increased by indignation at the manifest iniquity of the present measure) spread speedily and widely in the naval service. The supremacy of Cromwell was the supremacy of the army, and the supremacy of the army was the execration of the navy. Cromwell had not a friend among the sea-commanders, only amongst his land-admirals; and of these last, none were very cordially attached to his person except Colonel Edward Mountagu, whom he now created General at Sea. Principles and sentiments, which had remained inactive only through restraint, but which had never been extinguished in the hearts of the seamen, began to ferment. Both officers and men (together with a large portion of the nation) had their eyes silently turned toward their exiled prince, to whom their unsophisticated minds were the more naturally and strongly attracted, in consequence of the declared necessity of again placing the supreme authority in the hands of

"one person, with a parliament." They had, from the first, honestly stood for king and parliament; that is to say, for some such mode of settling the balance between prerogative and freedom, as was afterwards completed in 1688; from which period we are all king-and-parliament-men, according to the pure, original intention of those terms. The spectacle of mock-royalty exhibited to their view, only rendered more vivid in their imagination, and more venerable to their contemplation, the true royalty which it excluded. The state of things had essentially changed since 1648; it was no longer the case of a Prince of Wales without any regal authority acknowledged by the constitution of the realm, it was that of a king, on whom had unquestionably devolved the full and perfect title to his ancestorial crown; to whom no one could charge any portion of the calamities under which the country had so long laboured; and who had distinctly made public his sentiments, as king, in the following Declaration.

"*October* 21*st*, 1649.

His Majesty's Declaration to all his Subjects of his Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales.

"Charles, the Second of that name, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.: To all persons within our kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

"We cannot, without unspeakable grief and sorrow, call to mind, nor without horror express, that our dear and royal father, King Charles of ever-blessed memory, hath been most

barbarously and most cruelly murdered by the hands of bloody traitors and rebels within our kingdom of England, with proceedings and circumstances so prodigious, that the particulars induce rather amazement than expression. And although we have hitherto seemed silent in a matter so highly concerning us, as not publicly to express to the people of England our grief of heart and high detestation of that heinous act; yet, being now safely arrived in a small part of our own dominions at the Island of Jersey, we have thought fit rather from hence, where our kingly authority takes place, than from any foreign country where we have been hitherto necessitated to reside, publicly to declare, that, out of a bitter sense and indignation of those horrid proceedings against our dear father, we are, according to the laws of nature and justice, firmly resolved, by the assistance of Almighty God (though we perish alone in the enterprise), to be a severe avenger of his innocent blood, which was so barbarously spilt, and which calls so loud to Heaven for vengeance. And we shall therein, by all ways and means possible, endeavour to pursue, and bring to their due punishment, those bloody traitors who were either actors or contrivers of that unparalleled and inhuman murder.

"And since it hath pleased God so to dispose, as, by such an untimely martyrdom, to deprive us of so good a father, and England of so gracious a king; we do further declare, that, by his death, the crown of England, with all privileges, rights, and preliminaries belonging thereunto, is, by a clear and undoubted right of succession, justly and lineally descended upon us, as next and immediate heir and successor thereunto, without any condition or limitation, without any intermission or claim, without any ceremony or solemnity whatsoever. And that, by virtue thereof, we are now in right lawfully seised of the said crown, and ought, by the laws of God and of that nation, to enjoy a royal power there, as well in church as commonwealth, to govern the

people of that kingdom according to the ancient and known laws to maintain them in peace and justice, and to protect and defend them from the oppression of any usurped power whatsoever. And the people of that nation, by the like laws, owe unto us, and ought reciprocally to pay, duty and obedience unto us, as unto their liege lord and sovereign. This royal right of ours is grounded upon so clear a title, is settled by such fundamental laws, confirmed by so many oaths of allegiance in all ages, is supported by such a long-continued succession in our royal progenitors, and by such a constant submission of all the people, that the same can admit of no dispute; no act of our predecessors can debar us of it, no power on earth can justly take it from us; and, by the undoubted laws of that nation, to oppose us, either in the claim or exercise thereof, is a treason of the highest degree.

"And although the bloody contrivers of our father's murder (out of a pernicious hatred to all monarchies) have, by force, as much as in them lies, disinherited us of our princely right thereunto, banished and proscribed us, seized all our revenues, prohibited all intercourse and supplies to be sent to us, and have, by violence, imposed upon the people of England a new yoke of popular tyranny, to the utter subversion not only of our just rights, but of their laws and liberties; yet we do profess that we cannot persuade ourself that the body of the English nation hath so far degenerated from their ancient loyalty and virtue as to consent to these horrid proceedings against us, or to approve the cutting off that kingly government, under which they and your forefathers have happily flourished so many ages past, to the envy of all your neighbour nations. How can that once-happy nation of England despair of blessed days under a royal sceptre, and vainly hope for them under the iron rod of an insolent multitude? No, we cannot look upon these sad and dismal changes as the desires or intentions of the better part of our subjects of that kingdom, but rather as the designs and contrivances

of those wicked murderers of our father, whose ambitions are endless, whose avarice is insatiable, and whose guilt hath made them desperate. And therefore, out of a confidence we have of the loyalty and good affections of many of our subjects of that nation, and as well for their encouragement who still persist in their natural allegiance and obedience to us, as for the security of such as shall yet return to their duties and loyalties, we have thought fit hereby further to declare:

"That we are graciously pleased to receive all persons of our kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, other than such who voted or acted in that bloody murder of our dear father, into our royal grace, mercy, and protection, owning and esteeming them all as our good and loving subjects, whom, upon access to our kingly authority, we shall hold ourself bound, according to the law of God, the known laws of that nation, and the duty of our kingly office, to protect, maintain, and preserve, in wealth, peace, and happiness.

"And for a clear evidence of our good intentions towards them, we shall be contented freely to pardon, or otherwise by act to declare or hold indemnified, all persons within our said kingdom of England and dominion of Wales (except before excepted), for any matters whatsoever, relating to the late unhappy war and distractions. And we shall, according to the example of our dear father, be ready, upon the establishment of our royal throne, to make such further concessions for the satisfaction and security of our good subjects in general, and of all interests in particular, as shall be adjudged most to conduce to the peace and happiness of that kingdom.

"And we do further declare, that we shall give our utmost assistance to restore parliaments to their ancient dignity and honour, and shall preserve their just privileges, and join to repair all those injuries and affronts which have been done to the members of that high court.

"And, because all ways of gaining a mutual confidence

betwixt us and our good subjects are at present obstructed by the usurped force and power now prevalent in that kingdom, we are therefore resolved to make use of such expedients as shall be necessary for the suppression of that tyrannical and unjust power now exercised over them, and for bringing to their due punishment those bloody murderers of our dear father; for shaking off the heavy burdens and taxes they now groan under; and for restoring our just rights, and the ancient liberties and freedom of the English nation; not doubting but we shall find all our good subjects ready to concur and assist us in our just and pious undertakings for those ends. And in the mean time, we require and command all our said subjects, according to their duty to God, their allegiance to us, their several oaths and protestations, and the love and affection they bear to the peace of their native country, that they do not betray their lawful king, nor the glorious liberties and laws of England, into a perpetual slavery, by acknowledgment or voluntary submission to any new forms or models of government, under the name or mask of a free state, nor any other title or pretence whatsoever.

"Given at our court at Castle Elizabeth, in our Isle of Jersey, the 21st day of October, 1649, in the first year of our reign.

"This Declaration was read and perfected in a council held at Castle Elizabeth, in the Island of Jersey, the 21st of October, 1649; there being then present, his Majesty, the Duke of York, Lord Keeper, Lord Hopton, Sir Edward Nicholas, and Mr. Secretary Long."

There was nothing in the first part of this Declaration contrary to the sentiments and feelings of the Navy, who well knew, that they pertained not to the number of those of whom the king expressed

his abhorrence; and the latter part of the Declaration was in perfect unison with the principles which they had themselves declared. The terms of the Covenant, to which the whole Navy had sworn, operated strongly on the minds of all who were conscientious, of whom there were very many. That solemn engagement bound them equally to the king as to the parliament; as their previous Protestation, framed by themselves, had also done. When, therefore, Cromwell had despoiled and dispersed the parliament, to which they had pledged and performed obedience, there still remained the royal party in that engagement, which had now no rival claimant on their duty; for Cromwell was neither of the two parties specified in it. The prior obligation to the king, therefore, remained in force, and superseded in their minds all sense of allegiance to the nominal Protector, whom they could only regard as a hostile intruder in the concerns of their duty and conscience. A similar effect was produced in Ireland: "After the "parliament had invested a *single person* with the "supreme power," says Warner, "and that he had "accepted it with so much pomp, the enemies of "Cromwell began to multiply very fast."[1] "I am "much of your lordship's opinion," said Sir Edward Nicholas, in a letter to Lord Culpepper, of the 8th of June, 1657, "that Cromwell's manifesting his great "ambition to be made king, hath given him a blow "at the heart, and that he will not long be any "thing."

[1] Vol. ii. p. 562.

Cromwell was not unapprised of this natural current of thought and of feeling, nor of the issue to which it must naturally and necessarily work; but his mind was fascinated by the idea of present possession, and to that idea he sacrificed all providence of the future, by which course he prepared for himself a sequel of endless disquietude and alarm. Yet he had sufficient warnings on two occasions recorded by Whitelock, abstracts of which it will not be out of place to produce here.

The first was on the 10th of December, 1651, "Upon the defeat at Worcester (says that memo-"rialist), Cromwell desired a meeting with divers "members of parliament, and some chief officers of "the army, at the speaker's house; and a great many "being there, he proposed to them, That now, the "old king being dead, and his son being defeated, "he held it necessary to come to a settlement of the "nation. And in order thereunto, he had requested "this meeting, that they together might consider "and advise what was fit to be done, and to be pre-"sented to the parliament." On which proposition, the following discussion took place.

Lenthall, Speaker.—"My lord, this company were very ready to attend your excellency; and the business you are pleased to propound to us, is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our forces under your command, and if we do not improve these mercies to some settlement, such as may be to God's honour and the good of this commonwealth, we shall be very much blame-worthy."

Maj.-Gen. Harrison.—"I think that which my lord-

general hath propounded is, to advise as to a settlement both of our civil and spiritual liberties; and so that the mercies which the Lord hath given in to us, may not be cast away. How this may be done, is the great question.

Whitelock.—"It is a great question indeed, and not suddenly[1] to be resolved; yet it were a pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy persons as I see here should be fruitless. I should humbly offer, in the first place, whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this settlement is desired, whether of an absolute republic, or with any mixture of monarchy?"

Cromwell.—"My Lord-commissioner Whitelock hath put us upon the right point; and, indeed, it is my meaning that we should consider, whether a republic, or a mixed monarchical government, will be best to be settled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power shall be placed?"

Sir T. Widdrington.—"I think a mixed monarchical government will be most suitable to the laws and people of this nation; and, if any monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the sons of the late king."

Col. Fleetwood.—"I think that the question, whether an absolute republic or a mixed monarchy be best to be settled in this nation, will not be very easy to be determined."

Lord Chief Justice St. John.—"It will be found, that the government of this nation, without something of monarchical power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundation of our laws, and the liberties of the people."

Speaker.—"It will breed a strange confusion, to settle a government of this nation without something of monarchy."

Col. Disbrowe.—"I beseech you, my lord, why may not

[1] I shall here observe, that the word *suddenly* was commonly used in that age in the sense of *speedily*, or *very soon*.

this, as well as other nations, be governed in the way of a republic?"[1]

Whitelock.—"The laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to settle a government without something of monarchy in it, would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our law, that you have scarce time to rectify; nor can we well foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby."

Col. Whaley.—"I do not well understand matters of law, but it seems to me to be the best way not to have any thing of monarchical power in the settlement of our government: and if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The late king's eldest son hath been in arms against us, and his second son likewise is our enemy."

Sir T. Widdrington.—"But the late king's third son, the Duke of Gloucester, is amongst us, and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies."

Whitelock.—"There may be a day given for the king's eldest son, or for the Duke of York, his brother, to come in to the parliament; and, upon such terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable both to our civil and spiritual liberties, a settlement may be made with them."

Cromwell.—"That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty; but, really, I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our rights both as Englishmen and as Christians, that a settlement of somewhat with monarchical power in it would be very effectual."

"Much other discourse (continues Whitelock) was, by divers gentlemen then present, upon several points, and too large to be here inserted; generally, the soldiers were against any thing of monarchy, though every one of them was a

[1] The army-officers had no other idea of a republic, than that of a popular assembly under military control.

monarch in his own regiment, or company; the lawyers were generally for a mixed monarchical government; and many were for the Duke of Gloucester to be made king. But Cromwell still put off that debate, and came off to some other point; and, in conclusion, after a long debate, the company parted without coming to any result at all; only Cromwell discovered, by this meeting, the inclinations of the persons that spake, for which he fished, and made use of what he then discovered."[1]

In November of the following year, 1652, Cromwell seized the opportunity of an accidental meeting with Whitelock in St. James's Park, to sound him more particularly on the subject on which his own ambition was secretly brooding. After expressions of unbounded confidence on the part of Cromwell, he spoke strongly of the difficulties he saw in attempting to effect a "good settlement" of the government; and on Whitelock concurring with him in that view of affairs, Cromwell abruptly asked him, "What if a man should take upon him to be "king?"

Whitelock.—"I think that remedy would be worse than the disease."

Cromwell.—"Why do you think so?"

Whitelock.—"As to your own person, the title of king would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia,[2] as you are general. So that I apprehend less envy, and danger, and pomp, but not less power and opportunities of doing good,

[1] Page 516.

[2] The term *militia* was then used to express the entire military power both by land and sea.

in your being general, than would be if you had assumed the title of king."

Cromwell.—"What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?"

Whitelock.—"The danger, I think, would be this: one of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries is, whether the government of this nation shall be established in monarchy, or in a free state or commonwealth. Now, if your excellency shall take upon you the title of king, this state of our cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy established in your person; and the question will be no more whether our government shall be by a monarch or by a free state, but whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our king and monarch. And that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this become, in effect, a private controversy only: before, it was national—what kind of government we should have; now, it will become particular—who shall be our governor? whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells? Thus, the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable party), having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you."

Cromwell.—"I confess you speak reason in this; but it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us. We shall, therefore, take a further time to discourse of it."

"With this (says Whitelock) the general brake off, and went to other company, and so into Whitehall, seeming, by his countenance, displeased with what I had said; yet he never objected it against me in any public meeting afterwards. Only his carriage towards me from that time was altered, and his advising with me not so frequent and intimate as before. And it was not long after that he found an occasion,

by an honourable employment,[1] to send me out of the way (as some of his nearest relations, particularly his daughter Claypoole, confessed), that I might be no obstacle or impediment to his ambitious designs."[2]

Whitelock's prediction to Cromwell, that the question would become, "Who shall be our go-"vernor? whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of "the family of the Cromwells?" was amply, though secretly, verified in the minds of the seamen. Penn was well apprised of the temper and disposition that prevailed amongst them, and especially in his own fleet; and, as his own principles and experience had fixedly determined his desire to see the Protectorate displaced by the legitimate crown, as the only means of restoring health and soundness to his distempered country, he made a secret tender to the king, then at Cologne, of the services of the armament about to be placed under his authority, if his majesty could command any sea-port in which it might assemble; but Charles, having then no such means for availing himself of the offer, directed him to proceed on his expedition, and to wait for a more favourable opportunity to serve him. Lord Inchiquin was at this time one of the king's privy council, to which he had been added on the 11th of May, 1651.

"Both the superior officers" (Penn and Venables), says Clarendon,[3] "were well affected to the king's "service. They did, by several ways, without any

[1] Whitelock was sent away by Cromwell, as ambassador to Sweden, preparatory to his assumption of the Protectorate.

[2] Pages 549, 551. [3] History, vol. iii. p. 576.

" communication with each other (which they had " not confidence to engage in), send to the king, " that if he were ready with any force from abroad, " or secure of possessing any port within, they would " (that is, either of them would), engage, with the " power that was under their charge, to declare for " his majesty. But neither of them daring to trust " the other, the king could not presume upon any " port; so he wished them to reserve their affec- " tions to his majesty till a more proper season to " discover them, and to prosecute the voyage to " which they were designed, from which he was not " without hope of some benefit to himself; for it " was evident Cromwell meant to make some enemy, " which probably might give his majesty some " friend."

Charles's printed letter[1] makes mention only of Penn's offer on this occasion, which was not confined to "*any port within*," as will appear from a memoir presented by the Marquess of Ormonde to the Duke of Neuburg, at Dusseldorff, on the 15th of June, 1655; the object of which memoir was to induce the Duke of Neuburg[2] to move the King of Spain to afford to Charles the benefit of some of his sea-ports.

[1] I regret, that the collection in which this letter is contained (the title of which I do not remember), is in the same predicament with the tracts mentioned in a note to vol. i. p. 353.

[2] For some account of this prince, his court, and his relations with Spain, see CLARENDON'S History, b. xiv. vol. iii. p. 543, &c. 8vo.

" Memoir presented by the Marquess of Ormonde to the Duc de Neuburg at Dusseldorff, on June 15, 1655.

(EXTRACT.)

" It is, by the concurrent testimony his majesty receives from all places (amongst which the letters from the Barbadoes seem a good evidence), conceived, that it is now manifest, that the design of Cromwell, in the fleet commanded by Penn, is to fall upon the Spaniard in the West Indies; which (besides his conjunction with France, that is now out of question) must oblige the King of Spain to a war with the rebels, except he be contented to let them at least share with him in those dominions, which cannot be imagined. —

" Let the present success of the English fleet be what it will in the West Indies, if Cromwell be not able to send constant and full supplies thither, the design must come to nothing, how prosperous soever the first entrance upon it chance to be; and if the King of Spain will give that assistance and countenance to his majesty, as will be very agreeable to the carrying on of his own affairs, his majesty will be able to give Cromwell too much to do in the three kingdoms, to leave him at liberty to attend those remote expeditions. Besides the power the king hath in the navy and amongst the seamen, and in this particular fleet under Penn, where (besides the common soldiers and mariners) there are many principal officers who have served his majesty, and whose affections will dispose them to receive any orders from the king: all which will appear, as soon as his majesty hath the liberty of ports, to encourage the resort of his ships and seamen to his service: which, whensoever he shall have, Cromwell will hardly adventure the setting out any great fleets, well knowing how ill affected the seamen are to him."[1]

[1] CARTE'S Collections, &c. 8vo. Vol. ii. p. 53.

Oldmixon, with the confidence which ignorance of a fact often inspires into a prejudiced and positive mind, says, "Lord Clarendon seems to have been in "some hopes that Penn and Venables would have "run away with the fleet and army, and have set up "the royal standard, which is said without the least "reason or fact, and might have been built upon as "much from a dream, as from any authority he had for "it." Clarendon, however, on this occasion, had the authority of reason and fact on his side, so far at least as regarded the sea-general; the truth of which did not depend on the knowledge and privity of Oldmixon.

Whilst Penn's fleet was equipping at Portsmouth, great activity, attended with equal secrecy, was observed in the exiled court. A letter of intelligence, sent to Secretary Thurloe, dated 6th of October, 1654, thus imparted:—"The Lord of Ormonde hath some "great matter in hand; being to get money. I do "not yet hear what hath been concluded; they say "it is a great business, if it come to pass, and can "be done."

The Fleet consisted of the following Ships.

Rates.	Names of Ships.	Seamen.	Soldiers.	Guns.	Captains.
2	*Swiftsure*, the General	350	30	60	Jonas Poole.
2	*Paragon*	300	30	54	* W. Goodson, V.-Ad.
3	*Torrington*	280	30	54	* Geo. Dakins, R.-Ad.
3	*Marston Moor*	280	30	54	* Edward Blagg.
3	*Gloucester*	280	30	54	Ben. Blake.
3	*Lion*	230	30	44	* John Lambert.
4	*Bear*	150	30	36	* Francis Kirby.
3	*Matthias*	200	30	44	John White.
4	*Laurel*	160	30	40	* William Crispin.
4	*Portland*	160	30	40	* Capt. Newberry.
4	*Dover*	160	30	40	* Robert Saunders.

Rates.	Names of Ships.	Seamen.	Soldiers.	Guns.	Captains.
5	*Selby*	100	10	24	John Clarke.
5	*Grantham*	100	10	24	John Lightfoot.
3	*Indian*	220	30	44	Capt. Terry.
6	*Martin* galley	60	—	12	William Vessey.
4	*Great Charity*	150	—	36	Leonard Harris.
4	*Heart's-ease*	70	160	30	Tho. Wright.
4	*Discovery*	70	160	30	Tho. Wilts.
4	*Convertine*	75	200	30	* John Heyward.
4	*Katherine*	70	200	30	Willoughby Hanham.
5	*Half-Moon*	60	140	28	Barth. Ketcher.
5	*Gilliflower*	55	130	24	* Hen. Fenn.
5	*Rose-bush*	60	150	28	Rich. Hodges.
5	*Falcon* fly-boat	50	130	24	Tho. Fleet.
5	*Adam and Eve*	50	110	20	William Coppin.
5	*Sampson*	50	150	20	John Hubbard.
5	*Golden Cock*	60	150	24	William Garrat.
5	*Arms of Holland*	55	150	20	Robert Story.
5	*Tulip*	50	150	18	* Jeoffry Dare.
5	*Cardiff*	50	150	18	John Grove.
5	*Pelican* prize	50	150	18	Anth. Archer.
5	*Falcon* fire-ship	35	100	12	William Tickell.
5	*Little Charity*	60	—	20	* Rob. Key. Tubb.
5	*Westergatt*	50	150	20	Samuel Hawks.
5	*Marigold*	60	38 horses.	20	* Humph. Felshed.
5	*Crow*	60	water.	20	Tho. Thompson.
5	*Hound*	45			
5	*Falmouth*	45			Robt. Mills.

38 ships and 2 ketches, 1 hoy, 1 dogger-boat.

N.B. Those captains marked with an asterisk, had commanded ships in the Downs' fleet, in 1653; some of the others had probably been lieutenants, promoted on that occasion, as Capt. Tubb; see vol. i. p. 535.

Besides this fleet, another strong fleet was equipped, to proceed to the Mediterranean, under the command of General Blake, to whom was joined Col. Edward Mountagu, now created general at sea.[1]

[1] Colonel Edward Mountagu (afterwards the first Earl of Sandwich) was the only surviving son of Sir Sidney Mountagu, youngest brother of the first Lord Mountagu, and first Earl of Manchester. He had distinguished himself as an officer in the army of the parliament (for which, at the age of eighteen, he had raised a regiment of a thousand men at the beginning of the civil war), and also

The fleet remaining at home, was under the command of Vice-Admiral Lawson.

Previously to his taking the command of the fleet, General Penn preferred a claim, in the form of a petition, of indemnification for injuries sustained in his Irish estate; in consequence of which representation, the following order was passed by the Protector in council, on the 1st of September:

"On consideration of the petition of Gen. William Penn, one of the admirals at sea; Ordered, by his highness and the council, that, as a mark of favour to him, and in consideration of his sufferings in an estate of his wife's in Ireland, lands in Ireland yet undisposed of be set forth to him and his heirs, of three hundred pounds *per annum* value, as the same were worth in the year 1640; and that, for empowering the lord-deputy and council to set forth the same accordingly, an ordinance to be brought in."

And, on the 4th of December, Cromwell himself addressed the following letter to the lord-deputy and council in Ireland:

"My Lord and Gentlemen,

"Ourself and council having thought fit, in consideration of the great losses sustained by General Penn and his wife by the rebellion in Ireland, and as a remuneration of his good and faithful services performed to the commonwealth, to order that lands of the value of 300*l.* a-year, in Ireland, as they were let in the year 1640, be settled on General Penn and his

by his talents for public business; he had been made a member of Cromwell's new privy council; and now, in his thirtieth year, he first entered the naval service, as a general of the fleet. His father, Sir Sidney, purchased of Sir Oliver, uncle of the Pretender, Hinchinbrook, the ancient seat of the Williams, *alias* Cromwell; with which family, Edward Mountagu was associated by ties of the closest friendship.

heirs; and forasmuch as he is now engaged in further service for the commonwealth in the present expedition by sea, and cannot himself look after the settling of the said estate, it is our will and pleasure, that lands of the said value be speedily surveyed and set forth in such place where there is a castle or convenient house for habitation upon them, and near to some town or garrison, for the security and encouragement of such as he shall engage to plant and manure the same, and, if it may be, such lands as are already planted, or at least such as are capable of present improvement. It being our desire and intention that he may receive the full benefit of the said order to the utmost extent of it. And he having employed and intrusted one Mr. Gossage, inhabitant in Limerick, as his agent to take care of the said business, and improve the said lands to be set forth for his use, we desire that he may have access in his addresses to you therein, and that he may upon all occasions have your furtherance and assistance for the speedy and effectual carrying on and accomplishing of the said business. And we, having engaged to take care of the performance thereof in General Penn's absence, for our better satisfaction, we desire that you will give us an account of your proceedings therein. We do earnestly and specially recommend the premises to your care, and remain

"Your loving friend,

(Signed) "OLIVER P.

"Whitehall, December 4th, 1654.

"For the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy, and Council in Ireland,

"these."

Pepys, in a passage of his "Diary," which I shall have occasion to notice in concluding these Memorials, cites one Blackburne, affirming, "that what "Penn gave out about Cromwell's sending and en- "treating him to go to Jamaica, is false." Whether

Penn ever made such a proclamation, I know not; but the preceding letter of Cromwell, and his additional instruction to the commissioners, which will presently follow, are strong in proof of Cromwell's earnest desire to reconcile him to the expedition; in undertaking which, however, he could not set the personal courtesies of Cromwell in competition with that which he now regarded as the paramount interest of his country.

Commission to General Penn.

"Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to General William Penn, commander-in-chief of the fleet and sea-forces designed and set forth for the parts of America, greeting:

"We, having taken into consideration the cruelties and inhuman practices of the King of Spain exercised in America, not only upon the Indians and natives, but also upon the people of these nations inhabiting in those parts, whom he hath, contrary to common right and law of nations, by force of arms driven from those places and plantations whereof they were the rightful possessors; murdering many of their men, and leading others into captivity; and, to this very day, doth not only deny to trade, or to have any commerce with us, and the people of these countries in any part of America, but, contrary to the treaties between the two States, doth exercise all acts of hostility against us, and this people there, as against open and professed enemies, giving thereby, and (by) the claim he makes to all that part of the world by colour of the pope's donation, just grounds to believe that he intends the ruin and destruction of all the English plantations, people, and interest in those parts: and having, for these and several other reasons, with advice of our council, prepared and set forth a fleet of ships of war, with a convenient number of ships of burden to carry provisions, and to transport a land-

army and forces, under the conduct and command of General Venables, into America, with an intention to assault the said King of Spain and his subjects there; and it being necessary that the said fleet of ships should be put under the command and conduct of a faithful experienced person; and reposing confidence in the abilities, faithfulness, and good affection of you, General William Penn, we have made, constituted, and appointed you, and do by these presents make, constitute, and appoint you, to be general and commander-in-chief of the said fleet and ships; and do hereby give unto you full power and authority to order, manage, and command the same, and to give commissions, with the seal of the anchor, for supplying such officers of the fleet as shall depart this life, or be otherwise removed, after you shall be put to sea, upon the said expedition; and, for the better governing and executing of the said fleet, to exercise and execute the power of martial law over all persons belonging to the said fleet under your command, according to the rules and articles heretofore given and appointed for the fleet of this State, and according to the general customs and laws of the sea; and the same power to grant under your hand and seal to any officer of the said fleet divided from the rest, or in your absence. And we do hereby will and require the vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the said fleet, and all other the subordinate captains, masters, officers, and mariners, serving in any ship or vessel in the said fleet, for the time being, to be obedient to you in their several and respective places, and to all and every the commands which you shall give them, or any of them, for our service; and you to observe and follow such instructions, orders, and directions, as you herewith, or hereafter shall, receive from us. And for the premises these presents shall be your warrant. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 9th October, in the year of our Lord, 1654.

(*Copia vera.*)

Instructions given unto General William Penn, Commander-in-Chief of a Fleet of Ships into the parts of America.

" OLIVER, P.

" 1. Whereas we, by our commission on that behalf, have made and constituted you general and commander-in-chief of the fleet designed and prepared for America, you are to take into your charge the said fleet, being hereafter particularly mentioned, that is to say, *Swiftsure, Paragon, Torrington,* &c.

" 2. Whereas, besides the said fleet, we have caused to be raised and levied, here in England, land forces both horse and foot, (viz.) five regiments of foot, six hundred in each regiment, being in all 3000 foot; and sixty horse, to be transported into the parts aforesaid, under the conduct and command of General Venables, and have appointed them to march to Portsmouth to go aboard there, you are therefore to take aboard the said fleet, the said General Venables, with the said forces, horse and foot, and their arms, ammunition, provisions, and other things whatsoever belonging to them, or such of them as shall be ready; and having so received them aboard, you shall, with the fleet aforesaid, repair, as wind and weather shall permit, and according to the Instructions herewith delivered to you, into the West Indies.

" 3. You are to use the utmost care, in the transporting the soldiers, to prevent sickness among them, to which purpose they are to be indifferently distributed for their numbers into the several ships, that no one ship may be overcharged with men, which may cause infection; and to use such other means as you, with the advice of General Venables, shall find requisite.

" 4. Whereas other forces are intended to be levied and raised in the Barbadoes, and other the islands and English plantations there, you are, as wind and weather will permit, to sail with the fleet and soldiers for the island of Barbadoes,

or such of the other islands as the commissioners appointed to manage those affairs, or any three of them (whereof you shall be one), shall think requisite for the present service; unless the said commissioners (whereof you and General Venables shall be two), upon any intelligence, or other considerations, which may occur in the meantime for the good of the service, shall otherwise resolve; in which case their resolutions are to be observed.

" 5. Whereas our design in this expedition is to assault the Spaniard in the West Indies, in the manner expressed in our instructions to General Venables, which he is to communicate to you; you shall, with the fleet and sea-forces, from time to time, by the advice of the said commissioners, or any three of you, do your utmost endeavours to promote the service upon all occasions.

" 6. You shall use your best endeavours to seize upon, surprise, and take, all ships and vessels whatsoever belonging to the King of Spain, or any of his subjects in America, or of any others who shall assist and aid him, or shall be enemies or rebels to us and this commonwealth, together with the tackle, apparel, ordnance, and ammunition, and all and singular the goods, monies, wares, and merchandise therein; and, in case of resistance, you are authorised to sink, burn, and destroy, all such ships and vessels.

" 7. You are hereby authorised and empowered, as well with the sea-forces alone, as in conjunction with the land-forces, as the nature of the service shall require, with the advice of the said commissioners, or any two of them, to land men upon any of the dominions and possessions of the King of Spain in America, or any other who shall assist or aid him, or shall be enemies or rebels to us and this commonwealth; there to surprise their forts, take or beat down their castles and places of strength, seize all ships and vessels belonging to the persons aforesaid, or to any other who shall hold trade and commerce with them; and to use

all other acts of hostility necessary for the effecting the ends aforesaid.

" 8. You shall take care that such ships, vessels, goods, monies, and wares, which you shall take and seize upon by virtue of the power granted to you by these instructions, be preserved without embezzlement, and delivered to the commissioners, that so they may come in account to the State.

" 9. For the better enabling you for the executing the premises, you are hereby empowered and authorised to embark, arrest, take up, and use, in any of the parts aforesaid, such ships and other vessels, to whomsoever belonging, which you, in your judgment, shall find necessary in order to the said service, giving them reasonable satisfaction for the same.

" 10. You shall take care to preserve the honour, jurisdiction, territories, and people of this commonwealth, within the extent of your employment; and, in all places where you shall sail, endeavour, as much as in you lieth, that no nation or people intrude hereupon, or injure any of them.

" 11. Whereas divers good people of this commonwealth have sustained, and do daily sustain, great losses and damages by having their ships and goods seized, pillaged, surprised, and taken, by divers French ships, and Frenchmen, subjects of the French king, by which means the shipping of this nation hath been in some measure impaired, and the English trade lessened; and albeit all fair courses have been taken and observed, according to the forms of princes and States in amity, in seeking and demanding redress and reparation, yet none could be obtained, but, on the contrary, the French ships do continue to seize and depredate the ships of this commonwealth and the people thereof, so that, according to the laws and customs of nations, letters of reprisal are grantable; and whereas many of the English so spoiled are not able to undergo the charge of setting forth ships of their own to make seizure by such letters of marque: and for that,

by the laws used among nations, any State may, in such cases, cause justice to be executed by their own immediate officers and ministers, where they find it requisite; especially in this case, where many of the State's own ships have been surprised and taken: you shall, therefore, as in the way and execution of justice, seize, arrest, surprise, and detain, or, in case of resistance, to sink, burn, and destroy, all such ships and vessels of the said French king, or any of his subjects, which you shall meet with, together with the tackle, apparel, ordnance, and ammunition, and all and singular the goods, monies, wares, and merchandise therein, wheresoever the same shall be met withal upon the sea. And the same so seized, arrested, or surprised, you shall secure without any manner of wasting or embezzling the same, or any part thereof; and shall deliver the same to the commissioners, who shall cause a true account to be kept thereof, and of the product and provenue that shall arise therefrom.

" 12. You shall, in this your employment, take care that the general instructions given to you, and the other generals of the fleet, as to the matter of discipline, and other things relating to the well-ordering and management of the fleet, be put in execution, which you are hereby authorised to do.

" 13. You shall be careful to give unto us frequent intelligence of your proceedings, that you may receive our further directions thereupon, as there shall be occasion.

" 14. Whereas all particulars cannot be foreseen, nor positive instructions for such emergencies so beforehand given, but that most things must be left to your prudence and discreet management, as occurrences may arise upon the place, or from time to time fall out; you are therefore, upon all such accidents relating to your charge, to use your best circumspection, and by advice, either with the commissioners, or your council of war, as occasion may be, to order and dispose of the said fleet, and the ships under your command, as may be most advantageous for the public, and

for obtaining the ends for which this fleet was set forth; making it your special care, in the discharge of that trust committed unto you, that the commonwealth receive no detriment.

" 15. Whereas we are informed, that part of the fleet aforesaid are ready to set sail with some part of the land forces; you are hereby authorised and required to give orders to that part of the fleet which is fitted and prepared as aforesaid, taking aboard them such of the said forces as are ready, to sail forthwith, as the wind and weather will permit, to the island of Barbadoes; and General Disbrow, General Venables, and you, or any two of you, are hereby authorised to give such instructions to the commander-in-chief of that squadron as shall be most for the advantage of this service, and may put things in a readiness there against the arrival of the other part of the fleet, wherewith you are to hasten after, as soon as the same can be put into condition to sail.

" JOHN THURLOE."

Charged with this service, and possessed of the secret sanction of the king, Penn proceeded to discharge the duties of his department in it, with a view solely to the interests of his country. The fleet under his command sailed from Spithead on the 25th of December, 1654, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 29th of January, 1655. Captain Butler and Mr. Winslow were ordered by Cromwell to attend the fleet; and these two gentlemen, with the sea and land-generals, the vice and rear-admirals, and some others, were appointed commissioners, for carrying into effect the object of the expedition, which was thus distinctly described and explained in the instructions delivered to General Venables.

"*Instructions to General Robert Venables, given by his Highness, by advice of his Council, upon the Expedition to the West Indies.*

(EXTRACT.)

"Immediately upon the receipt of these instructions, repair, with the forces aforesaid, to Portsmouth, where we have appointed the fleet designed for the aforesaid service, under the command of General William Penn, to take you, with the said army and land forces, on board, and to transport you unto the parts aforesaid.—

"3. The design, in general, is to gain an interest in that part of the West Indies in the possession of the Spaniard; for the effecting whereof *we shall not tie you up to a method by any particular instructions*, but only communicate what hath been under our consideration. Two or three ways have been thought of to that purpose: (viz.)

"1. The first is to land on some of the islands, and particularly Hispaniola, and St. John's Island, one or both, but the first, if that hath no considerable place in the south part thereof but the city of St. Domingo; and that, not being considerably fortified, may probably be possessed without much difficulty; which being done, and fortified, that whole island will be brought under obedience.

"2. Another way we have had consideration of is, for the present to leave the islands, and to make the first attempt upon the main land, in one or more places between the river Oronoque and Porto-Bello, aiming therein chiefly at Carthagena.

"3. There is a third consideration, and that is mixed, relating both to the islands and also to the main-land, which is, to make the first attempt upon St. Domingo, or Porto-Rico, one or both; and having secured them, to go immediately to Carthagena.

"These are the things which have been in debate here; and having let you know them, we leave it to you, and the commissioners appointed, to be weighed upon the place; that after due consideration had among yourselves, and such others as you shall think fit to advise with, who have a particular knowledge of those parts, you may take such resolutions concerning the making the attempts, in the managing and carrying on the whole design, as to you, and the said commissioners, or any two of them, shall seem most effectual, either by the ways aforesaid, or such others as shall be judged more reasonable."[1]

By the terms of these instructions, we may judge of Clarendon's historical fidelity, when he states: "Their orders from Cromwell *were very particular, and very positive;* that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them."[2] Clarendon wrote this statement during his exile, when he had no better information to guide him than the rumours and gossip of the itinerant court; and he did not give himself the honest trouble to rectify it, after he possessed the means of doing so.

"*Additional Instructions unto General Robert Venables, Edward Winslow, Daniel Searle, and Gregory Butler, Commissioners, with others appointed to order and manage the affairs of this Commonwealth in America.*

"OLIVER P.

"Whereas, some of the ships and vessels employed for carrying victuals and other provisions for the use of the fleet in this present expedition are Dutch bottoms, and we having promised to General Penn, for some considerations us thereunto moving, that one of those vessels shall be delivered unto him,

[1] BURCHETT, pp. 385, 386. [2] History, vol. iii. p. 578. 8vo.

after that she is emptied of her provisions, and of no further use for this service in those parts; you are therefore hereby authorised and required to give order and direction, that such of the said victualling Dutch bottoms as the said General Penn shall name unto you, after that she is emptied of her provisions, and no further to be employed in those parts for carrying on this present design, be delivered to the said General Penn, to be disposed of by him as he shall think fit.[1]

"December 14th, 1654.

"*Vera Copia.*"

(Signed) "R. VENABLES,

"GREGORY BUTLER."

It is well known, that the army made their first attempt on the island of Hispaniola, where it sustained a very disgraceful repulse. To soften the effect of that intelligence at home, and at the same time to secure the general design of the instructions, by "gaining an interest in that part of the West "Indies in the possession of the Spaniard," it was determined by the commissioners to attack the island of Jamaica; which object, was accomplished with little or no resistance from the shore. Commissioner

[1] This instruction was afterwards fulfilled, as appears from the following document appended to the copy.

"Jamaica. "By the commissioners appointed for ordering and managing the affairs in America.

"In pursuance of an additional instruction directed unto us by his Highness the Lord Protector, &c.

"We do by these presents order, that the ship the *Catherine*, which he, the said General William Penn, hath made choice of by name, be delivered unto him as aforesaid, requiring all those that are any ways concerned herein to take notice hereof, there being no present occasion for employing the said ship in this service any longer. Dated the 30th of May, 1655.

"*Vera Copia.*"

(Signed) "R. VENABLES,

"GREGORY BUTLER."

Butler, who was in the particular confidence of Cromwell, and was sent by him as his spy on both the generals, thus reported to him their arrival at that island.

"On the 10th of May, we came into the harbour[1] of Jamaica, General Penn leading the way with his own ship; for, after the miscarriage at Hispaniola, I have privately heard him say, 'he would not trust the army with the attempt, if he could come near with his ships;' and, indeed, did, in the *Martin* galley, run in till she was aground before their breast-work in the bottom of the harbour, at the time when the boats were to land, which was done without any opposition, though much might have been expected.'"[1]

A manuscript journal of that expedition, contained in the British Museum,[2] gives the following account, both of the arrival and the landing.

"9*th*, *Wednesday*.—This day we came fair under the shore of Jamaica, and all our army did prepare to land; but the commissioners of the army did declare unto the soldiers, that those which were not willing to fight, they did desire them to stay aboard; and many did accept of their proffer very willingly."

"10*th*, *Thursday*.—From ten o'clock at night to this morning we kept fair by the shore, and now we made all sail we could to get into the easternmost harbour; but before we could get in it fell calm, so that we were forced to come to an anchor half a league to the eastward of the harbour, in five fathom water; but within half an hour it sprung up a fresh gale at east. We weighed, and stood into the harbour, and

[1] BUTLER'S letter will be presently given at length.

[2] ASCOUGH'S MSS. 3926. Catal. p. 691.

came to an anchor in forty fathom water; but the general commanded the *Martin* to run up into the harbour as far as possibly he could, and all the small ships and vessels to follow her; which was done. The *Martin* came to an anchor within shot of the fort, which was very angry with him; and firing at her very hot, and she at them again, but did little hurt on either side. Here were two other forts, of very small account, did keep popping at them with muskets, thinking to fear us. Our general, and General Venables, made all the haste they could up to the *Martin*, and went aboard of her; most part of our soldiers lying round the *Martin* in boats, ready to land. Our general commanded the boats to follow us with the men, and commanded the master to run the ship ashore as near as possible he could to the fort, which was done; and firing some guns into this fort, and the boats following us with the soldiers, our seamen run the boats fast aground close under the fort, and the soldiers leaping into the water to wade ashore.

"The enemy, seeing our resolution, did not stand to give any resistance, but ran, leaving thirteen guns mounted. This gave our army great encouragement; but our army did not follow the enemy, but did draw up in battle, and then resolved to stay, until their general did come ashore to them; for some were much troubled that he did not land with them. For all the time that the army was landing, he was walking about the *Martin*, wrapped up in his cloak, with his hat over his eyes, looking as if he had been studying of physic, more than like the general of an army. And when the army did come by us in their boats, they did shout forth into a halloo, which is a custom at sea, throwing up their caps and hats; but General Venables did not give them so much as one look to encourage them, but pulled his hat more over his eyes, and did look another way. Many of his commanders did take notice of it. But our general did call to them, giving them encouragement, telling them the enemy did run. But General

Venables, seeing the enemy all fled from their forts, and none there to oppose our army, did desire a boat, saying he would go ashore; and our general, being both ready and willing, knowing his business to be there and not here, at this time, gave command presently for a boat to carry him ashore to the army, where he found them all drawn up; where they did resolve to encamp this night, and to take the day before them to march up to the town, it being six miles from the place of landing."

It is to be observed, in explanation of the deportment of the land-general, thus graphically represented, that, besides bodily illness, caused by fatigue and climate in the late unsuccessful attempt on Hispaniola, besides mortification and dejection of spirits from that failure, and entire mistrust of his army in the present adventure; he had embarrassed his feelings by bringing Mrs. Venables with him on this expedition, who was then on board the fleet, receiving the enemy's fire from the forts: for, until the debarcation of the troops, the Spaniards kept up a brisk fire on the ships.

As the proceedings at Hispaniola have hitherto been, not merely left in a state of entire obscurity, but shamefully perverted in all our histories; the army at home, of that day, having been careful to charge the naval commander with the causes of their brethren's dishonour, and he as careless to vindicate himself from a charge which the consciousness of its utter and notorious falsehood made him regard, at the time, with silent contempt; I shall at length illustrate all that obscurity, and rectify all the perversion, by presenting to the reader the series of

every day's occurrence, from the first landing of the troops on that island, until their final departure from thence; together with some other principal documents relating to the chief naval command of the expedition, copied from the original manuscript journal kept on board the *Swiftsure*, from the departure of the fleet, in December 1654, to the return of its commander to England, in September 1655. And though some of the matter may appear tedious to many readers, I shall nevertheless use the opportunity I have here created for myself, by producing every thing that has any relation to that misrepresented expedition.

Campbell, in his "Lives of the Admirals, or Naval "History," compiled and published in 1750 (a century after the events), affirms, that "the only just "and genuine account of this expedition is to be "found in Burchett's Naval History, which was "drawn up at the time, from the examination of "Penn, Venables, and their superior officers;"[1] and he adds, in page 202, "all these facts the reader will "find in the copious detail of this voyage published "by Burchett;" and, in page 203, he charges himself with the responsibility for all falsehoods, by asserting, "the facts are indisputable."

Burchett's account of this event is comprised in ten folio pages, in which no authority whatever is quoted or referred to. But, so far is Burchett from affirming that his account was "drawn up at the time," that is, in 1655, that he only says, "I have thought it neces-

[1] Vol. ii. p. 195.

" sary to set down the best account I am able to " come at.". The authors of the " Parliamentary " History of England" say, with far greater knowledge and truth, " the occasion of the disappointment " at Hispaniola, and the taking of Jamaica, are amply " related in two letters from General Venables to " General Mountagu, afterward Earl of Sandwich, " printed in Mr. Carte's ' Collections.' 8vo. vol. ii. " p. 46."[1] Those two letters I shall produce, confounding Burchett by the testimony of Venables himself.

The sum of Burchett's "just and genuine" account, is thus presented by Campbell. " Admiral " Penn had the chief command of this fleet, and " under him were Vice-Admiral Goodson, and Rear- " Admiral Blagge. The fleet arrived in Carlisle bay " on the 29th January. From Barbadoes, the fleet " sailed on the last of March, and arrived before the " city of St. Domingo. General Venables found him- " self deficient in all sorts of necessaries; and, which " was worse, found Admiral Penn very little inclined " to afford him even the assistance that was in his " power. The army (after their repulse) was in a " little time embarked; but the sick and wounded " men were left on the bare decks for eight-and-forty " hours, without either meat, drink, or dressing, in- " somuch that worms bred in their sores; and even " while they were on shore, the provisions sent to " them were not watered, but candied with salt, not- " withstanding they had not water sufficient to " quench their thirst. Nay, after the misfortunes

[1] Vol. xx. p. 473.

" on shore, Venables averred, that Penn gave Rear-
" Admiral Blagge orders not to furnish them with
" any provisions of what kind soever; so that they
" eat up all the dogs, asses, and horses in the camp,
" and some of them such things as were in them-
" selves poisonous, of which about forty died."

I shall amaze my reader, in exposing the enormity of the falsehoods for which Burchett has here made himself responsible, and by adopting which implicitly from Burchett, Campbell has degraded his history: in front of all of these, stands the token and index of their common character, namely, that Blagg was not rear-admiral of the fleet.[1]

Neither Cromwell, nor his council,[2] ever implicated Penn in the failure at Hispaniola; they knew well the true circumstances of the case, and are in no degree chargeable with those falsehoods, which were the creation of some of his army-officers, with a view to exonerate their fellow-soldiers on that service. These were greedily received and disseminated by the high cavalier party after the restoration, through their

[1] See the list of the fleet, page 17.

[2] Whitelock, who was of the council, thus noted both the failure at Hispaniola, and the subsequent imprisonment of the generals.

" *July* 1655.—Letters from the fleet under Generals Penn and Venables;
" whereby the ill success and miscarriage of Venables was resented by all, and
" the Protector was much offended at it; and, indeed, it was indiscreetly
" managed by Venables."

" *September*.—General Penn returned to England with a part of the fleet
" from Jamaica, the greatest part staid behind; and not long after him came
" General Venables, who, upon examination by the Protector and council of his
" management of that affair, was committed to the Tower; but being judged
" that he failed rather through imprudence than any ill intent, he was at length
" released."

implacable hostility to the naval service of the interregnum; and especially to Penn, whose marked and merited favour with the king, kept their jealousy in a state of perpetual irritation against him.

The testimonies that I shall produce, are,

I. The letters of the Commissioners Butler and Winslow, from Thurloe's State Papers.

II. The journal of the *Swiftsure*, and its accompanying documents, from the original MSS.

III. The letters of Venables to Mountagu, from Carte.

I. The letters of the Commissioners Butler and Winslow.

Captain Gregory Butler to the Protector.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS;

"Time will not permit me to give you such an account of your affairs here as I thought to have done. The Commissioners this evening have resolved to send myself with three ships for the Leeward Islands, to raise such force as may conduce most for your highness's service. We have, according to your commands, laid an embargo upon all ships here, and seized upon eight Dutch ships we found here. The islanders here much desire commerce with strangers, our English merchants trafficking to those parts being generally great extortioners. I humbly represent to your highness the necessity of allowing foreign commerce, which can be no way prejudicial; imposing upon them double custom, to be paid in our English plantations in these parts. As yet our London ships are not arrived with our store. We are now ready to set sail; wherefore, being in haste, I humbly beg your highness's pardon for not returning so full an account as I intended. By the next conveyance I shall endeavour to render

you as perfect an account as I can possible. In the meantime I presume to style myself

Your highness's most humble servant,

GREGORY BUTLER.

"From aboard the *Marston-Moor*, riding before the Barbadoes, Feb. 7, 1654–5."

Mr. Ed. Winslow to Secretary Thurloe.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"The injunction you laid upon me at my departure constrains me to put pen to paper, that you may have an impartial character of things, even of all our weighty transactions since our arrival at Barbadoes. And though I know I act a part in obedience to his highness's and your commands, that never profited any man, wherein if a man deals ever so faithfully, yet once discovered, he becomes an object of revenge; nevertheless I shall trust God and you therewith, and do what I do with that sincerity, as shall bear me out before the most high God, and not spare the discovery of any thing that may conduce to the benefit or detriment of his highness and the commonwealth.

"Sir, when I wrote to you from Portsmouth, I told you how easily that sore was cured between Venables and Penn, whose demeanour, mutually, towards each other at sea, was sweet and hopeful; but the last of these two gentlemen is too apt to be taken with such conceits; but I trust all will be well; only I fear, that going hence without our stores, some occasion will arise of disturbance between the land and sea forces. The Lord God prevent it in much mercy! I only speak my fears, but shall endeavour against it with all my might; but we have touched so much upon supplies in our general letter to his highness (and no more thereto is requisite), as I shall forbear any further thereabout.

"When we came to Barbadoes, which was the 29th of January, we found all things out of order upon the place: our English merchants neglected, a free trade entertained with strangers; and though a seizure was made, some time before we came, upon some stranger's estate, as trading contrary to the statute, and the governor's assistance required, it was by him referred to a trial at common law, where all the attorneys of the court were taken up for the strangers, and none could be procured for the State; but the English merchants that pleaded the State's cause did it thoroughly, being sufficiently able. Yet nevertheless, though the act of the 3d of October 50, which you sent with us, and the other, of the 9th of October 51, were both pleaded, the jury found for the strangers against Parliament and State, grounding all upon the articles of Barbadoes. Hereupon there was great joy and rejoicing on the one side, but the poor English merchants forced to send some of their principals to stop their hands, which hindered many thousand pounds' worth of goods from coming hither, not being regarded, who lay here, and spent themselves to the ruin of some of them. On the contrary, the Dutch were courted, and highly prized, and sent home in a triumphant manner, to invite them freely to the trade of Barbadoes; by which means many more of them are expected before the end of May next. And truly, unless we can leave a ship here to make seizure of them as they come in, his highness's friends are confident, the new commissioners will not be able to carry on their work. All our hope is, that Venables having new-moulded the militia, and we requiring their assistance, it will be that way prevented. As for the Governor of Barbadoes, his demeanour herein has been very strange and wary, leaving to himself in his own apprehension a starting-hole in every case: he refers this to a trial at law, and yet, when the aforesaid verdict was brought in, desires his protest may be entered against it, which accordingly is done, as he informs us; but when we came hither, and had

made seizures upon the Dutch and other merchant strangers, who for the most part plead and swear license from him, then to us he pleads the articles of Barbadoes against both the aforesaid acts, our instructions as commissioners (notwithstanding the oath he hath taken thereupon, and his personal letter also from the Protector): insomuch as, in plain terms, he refuseth to join with us in commission in any thing belonging to the seizures by us made, upon any of them, or in any commissions, instructions, declarations, &c. thereabouts. And when we demand reason, he tells us, his hand was to the articles of the place, and therefore cannot give it against them. The skippers sometimes, yea for the most part, swear they had not traded, but by his leave to trade; he denies not but he gave them free leave to trade, but in the tail of all he tells them, if they trade against the laws of England, at their peril and fortune be it; insomuch as now they complain exceedingly of him, and one of them hath produced a license under his hand and seal, whereof a true copy is sent herewith; but I fear the great gifts he is said to have received from them have been a snare unto him. 'Tis strange to see how generally they dote upon the Dutch trade, the English merchants protesting they will give more for a worse commodity to the Dutch, than for a better to themselves; so that you may hereby guess how unwelcome we are, for that we made seizure of them. And indeed the council and assembly were very much grieved at it, and at our coming hither. Some of them flew out against Colonel Muddiford, as the cause of all this, and stick not to call him traitor to the island; insomuch as some of us were necessitated to excuse him; but the very truth of it is, no man hath more closely adhered to us, and so much furthered our design, as he; nor is any man able, he being master of more reason than half the island, if not all; which is no small crime in other parts, as well as here, especially amongst persons of ordinary education. He was the man that per-

suaded the assembly, being their speaker, to give the sixty horse to his highness for the present expedition: he convinced them, how good it was for them to let us beat up our own drums for men, telling them, they were all undone, if they did it not with cheerfulness; for, said he, if the Commissioners hold but up their fingers, all our servants will leave us, and then we are undone indeed. Briefly, the gentleman sets himself to the utmost, to see how he may endear himself to his highness; how he may recover his lost reputation; and for this also he is not a little envied.

"And whereas you told us of a great parcel of sugar was ready for our use, which was due upon the prizes taken by Sir George Ascue, we found not a penny in readiness, but abroad in such hands as were not well affected for nothing; having had the use of large sums for these three years, and have upon that foundation raised fine estates, which they are so loath to part withal, as I fear you will find them to be most ill affected, when they either pay, or must have those debts levied upon their estates, which must be forthwith done to discharge our engagement. The reason wherefore Colonel Morris will not go with us, is, because he hath so lovely an estate, which he fears may be seized for some other debts after he is gone. At first he told us, he hoped we would forgive him a small debt he owed the State, in regard of former good services he had done them, and losses sustained for them. To this we seemed willing, provided he went freely, knowing how necessary an instrument he might prove. This we found to be twenty-six thousand nine hundred weight of sugar. Afterwards, he told us in plain terms, if we would give him an hundred thousand weight of sugar, that so he might pay his debts, and leave his estate clear to his wife, then Lewis Morris would spend his blood for us. We told him it was beyond our commission: and General Venables told him, if he should offer up his commission, he durst not accept it, because it was sent by his highness, who expected

so much service from him; besides, what he demanded was as much as all the field-officers of the army had; and it would make them think they were very much undervalued. After all this he came to me and said, there was another way whereby we might enable him to go with us, and pressed me to move it to General Venables and the rest, viz. the people of this island (saith he) never look for pay for their quartering the soldiers. Now, if we would bestow that on him, it would serve his turn. This I told him I would move, at his request, but was sure that the General and Commissioners more prized their honour than to do it. So this we rejected also; and the truth is, he confesseth he never was where we intend first to pitch and set down; so at last he told us, he would conceal his intention, and march his men on board the ship, for which we gave him thanks; but all these things are private as yet; but the Commissioners of the Prize-Office have summoned him to pay in his debt to the State, or shew cause. The truth is, he prizeth himself at so high a rate, as if the expedition could not go on without him; which made some of us in a loving way tell him, we should be glad of so experienced an instrument as he was; but withal let him know, our trust and reliance was not on him, but on God; and if the Lord would be pleased to use us as instruments in his right hand, and own us as such, which we hoped he would, we doubted not but we should be able to give a good account of our proceedings; and thus stands the case betwixt him and us.

"As for the 1500 muskets we are promised we should receive here (which I ever wanted faith to believe), 'tis credibly reported, that about six weeks before our arrival (information came hither from London of our intended voyage, and that they were appointed for our service,) by way of anticipation they were disposed of, insomuch as we had very few of them, as we mentioned in our general letter to his highness; but a great fear seems to be upon them, lest their servants should

rise when the fleet is gone, because so many of their freemen go with us; and if things be not better ordered before we depart, as to the safety of the place, they most justly fear it; for all places of trust are disposed of by favour, and not by a sound judgment; for few active able men are in power, that may prevent such a mischief, or provide for their safety: and I hope it will be placed, I mean the military power, in such hands as will do both: they have 1500 horse, viz. the island, whereof the one half of them may be brought to service. The riches of the island far exceeds England's apprehension, the Dutch having hitherto reaped all the effects of the peace; and if we lay not a command upon the militia to be aiding to the Commission Office, I verily believe, when we are gone, we shall have them stopped by an injunction from the governor, and the cases referred to the common law; and my reason is, because these words, or the like, have many times come from him: 'What serves my power for? I received (it) first 'from the Council of State, which was afterwards renewed 'again, and since confirmed by his highness under the broad 'seal in July last; and since that by letter, as governor of 'this island: besides all this, he had his power from the 'Prize-Office in England; and is all this nothing?' To which he hath received many and sufficient answers; but I perceive not that he is satisfied; and for their trials at law, 'tis worth your observation, the laws of this place are generally made in favour of the debtor and the delinquent, whereas in other places the law gives every man the possession of his own, &c., and this is the complaint of many of their own to us, who seem to groan under the burthen of it.

"'Tis true, that at the request of the gentlemen of the island, when we had spent many days in debate concerning the present expedition, to persuade them, by all the arguments we could use, what gainers they above all men would be thereby, yet after all we were forced to bluster, and let them know, that General Venables, whose carriage therein,

and so all along, deserves a good testimony, was generalissimo of all the English in America, and so of this island; and so he had command of all their forts and forces; and this became effectual, and upon this they condescended to the beating up of our drums, nay prayed us to do it, and raise our men ourselves. And since they must be weakened by the loss of so many men and quartering of so many soldiers, they prayed us to mediate for them with his highness, to give the Dutch license to bring thither goods of their own growth, of their own manufacture, horses, and negroes, as in our general letter; but I thought it my duty, though I am tedious therein, to let you understand the spirit of the place, that so his highness and the right honourable the council, to whom I pray you present the remembrance of my most humble duty and hearty service, may the better know how to demean themselves towards them. Yet truly, sir, withal take notice they are great sufferers by us at present, and therefore we may and do bear with them in many things; and I shall be glad to hear that his highness is sensible of it, so as the people here may see his care of and for them, some way or other.

"Our want of more commissioners is very great. We are like to have little assistance from Captain Butler, though we all persuade ourselves he is very honest; but hope, yea persuade ourselves, he will take with the better side, in case of difference in judgment. I beseech you, in case any be sent, let us have men of such principles as will neither scruple to give or take an oath. For my part, I look upon an oath as an ordinance of God, and as an essential part of government, the very bond of societies; yea so necessary, as without it the magistrate will not be able to determine between man and man. But if this particular be spoken of, I shall lose General Penn, from whom I have and do receive much love; and owe him also a great deal of respect, for the well performance of his trust. However, after I had spoken as full to him as I have written about it, I never heard more

of it. We have met with the Dutch Governor of New Netherland, with three ships under his command: he is commander-in-chief of all the parts in America under the States' command. This man's business was to settle a fair trade between the Netherlands and this place; but we spoiled the sport. He hath been under the embargo ever since we came; and the rather, because he told us, he had business with the Spanish plantations, and we are in more fear of him for the discovering our raw and defective forces, than all the world beside. And yet, if ever those provided come to us, we shall be gainers by the same, so as we be settled before they come; but Don Alonzo is not worthy the name of an ambassador, if by advice to Dunkirk he hinder not those from ever coming to our hands; and yet he shall do no more than God will let him.

"The Dutch governor undertook to plead the cause of his countrymen, and hath our answer in writing; and if I can get it copied out, I will now send them; for what with drawing the general letter, and writing and copying my own to his highness and yourself, I am brought behindhand more than all the rest. Major-General Haynes desired me to entreat you to remember his duty to his highness, and his service to yourself; but to tell you, he will not write a line to England till we have engaged our enemies. I hope, sir, my salary, according to promise, is settled upon the exchequer, and that you will send us some very able ministers.

"I beseech you, consider the place we intend, by God's blessing, to settle upon; the many towns built upon it, besides the many cities, and each must be quitted and resettled by us; and truly, how to do less than settle a minister in each, I know not; only entreat my lord to remember, that the settlement of the Protestant religion is one of the grounds he goeth upon. Sir, I have been very tedious in my writing to you; and if it be a fault, I pray you deal plainly with me; but I did it purposely, that his highness might understand

the place as fully as if he had been here; and upon that account I rather chose to write three words too much than one too little. I shall be glad to hear of your perfect recovery. Oh! what would we give, and how do we long, to hear from England of the conclusion of the parliament with his highness; and so, what settlement is made in the nation. I beseech you, when you have occasion to write and send to us, let us not be strangers to England's condition; but impart such news to us as the time affords. I beseech you also, present my humble duty to the Lord Richard and the Lord Henry; and let me beg one further favour, that you will be pleased to do the like to the Lord St. John, my dear friend. I hope you have seated the lord chief baron long before this time. His hearty prayers for you and yours, who desireth the like from you, and is,

Sir, your honour's most humble servant,

EDWARD WINSLOW.

"Barbadoes, March 16, 1654–5."

Captain Gregory Butler to the Protector.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

"During my stay at Barbadoes, which was but eight days, several strangers' ships were seized, and an embargo laid on all vessels. Aboard the *Swiftsure*, a conference was held with Colonel Muddiford and Colonel Morris, the night before I set sail for Christopher's; the sum of it was, what place might be best attempted? but, indeed, nothing concluded before my departure, which was early next morning. Colonel Holdip and Captain Blagge were joined in commission with myself to raise men, and seize all strangers' ships trading with the Leeward Islands under the English government. Our first arrival was at Antigua, whose governor is Christopher Kennell, some time a captain in England, under the command of the Honourable Major-General Skippon.

There we staid but one night: having proclaimed your Highness, we departed, after I had written to Capt. Fountaine to come and serve your highness; judging him fit, who formerly was with Captain Cromwell in the Indies, knowing him formerly to be valiant. I allured the governor to lay wait for Capt. Campoe Sabbatha, formerly Jackson's pilot; besides, with monies and promises, I got Mr. Wentworth, Captain Cromwell's mate, whom I placed in the *Marston-Moor* frigate as pilot. This island of Antigua is much molested with the indians of Guadaloupe, Dominica, and St. Vincent, which made me unwilling to entertain any of the inhabitants for soldiers, there not being on the island above twelve hundred men. The place hath very good harbours in it; and, of all the islands formerly possessed by the English, is the best, having store of earth to make saltpetre. The next is Mont Serrat, where with all civility we were entertained by the Governor Osborne. Here we raised fourscore men, and took two Dutch ships and two Dutch shallops; proclaimed your highness; and so departed for Nevis, where the governor, a most sober, godly, and discreet person, entertained us nobly, drew his people in arms, and proclaimed your highness. The same day we enlisted three hundred men. This gentleman being old, was willing to lay down his commission; but we encouraged him to retain it. He was much perplexed with some anabaptist. Of him and another I bought two Indians of Florida, shamefully betrayed by a private man-of-war, and sold in this island; the which I left with my man upon the island of Jamaica. In Nevis we staid but two days; so departed to St. Christopher's, where we found the great ones very unwilling that we should raise any men, fearing by that means the French might ruin them. The French were jealous of us; the old sieur being unwilling to run any hazard (in) his old age, knowing his estate in St. Christopher's to be better than the favour of his master the King of France. The English governor, Everrard, is a covetous and grievous

oppressor, not caring what will become of his people, so he thrives. Here we raised eight or nine hundred men, and had those quartered which we brought from Nevis and Mont Serrat. The English would all fain have fallen out with the French, during our staying here; but we took such care, that the amity was renewed, and the people left in peace. This island is almost worn out, by reason of the multitudes that live upon it. The fleet appearing, we shipped our men to the number of twelve hundred, and departed: it was contrary to my mind to take more men than we had victuals for, besides the great want of arms, which were arguments sufficient to carry but a few; but Holdip and Blagge, with Fortescue, that arrived the day before, prevailed, and did ship them in the *Marston-Moor*, *Selby*, and four prizes, which we had taken: such force hath ambition, that no public good is valued, when a man prefers his own interest before the commonwealth; for, by this means, Holdip thought that he might have the command of a regiment, who indeed never merited a company. I acquainted the generals with the sad estate one Charles Reymes was in, if their honours did not help. The said Reymes came to this island, rode with his ship in the road of Sandy Point, which is a bay to the west of St. Christopher's: the French have forced it at the one end of the bay, and the English at the other; so it was free to both nations. In this place he rode with his ship, when the English governor desired him to sell none of his slaves to the French, (and) promised he would secure him from all harm. This the governor told me himself. I kept the estate from being sequestered, till the generals came; and, perceiving he was in danger of being ruined, I requested that he at present might be bound to ship his goods in an English bottom for England, there to know your highness's pleasure further; which was granted, and I about to take the security, when Holdip, the enemy of all good, in my absence tells the commissioners some strange story or other, so that the poor man's

estate at present remains sequestered, and himself undone, without your highness graciously be pleased, by the next ships, to order the commissioners to return the same to him, who dare not look homeward without your highness's special favour. His father is an Englishman, and president of the English company at Rotterdam. The general made Holdip colonel, contrary to the advice of the major-general (Haynes), of blessed memory, and contrary to all the officers of the army; and thereby contrary to my own mind, who shall never endure such base covetous Machiavels. At a council of officers it was concluded, (that) the general's, major-general's, Fortescue's, Carter's, Doyle's, and the sea-regiment, and Holdip's, should land to the westward of the city of Domingo; Buller's to the east, where he had a navigable river for his defence, with whom was part of Holdip's regiment. The first day we only marched three miles, it being late before all the army was landed; the next day we marched twelve miles, had two horsemen killed, and that evening killed one of the enemy. The next day marched to Hine river, struck off the way, and marched to Savanna; and the next morning marched to a great sugar-work; staid until noon; and that evening marched near the fort Geronimo, which lies within a mile and a half of the city of Domingo, which bestowed several shot. This night the general and the army retreated to the sugar-works, and himself, by the consent of officers, returned on board the *Swiftsure*, and pressed that I might go; which I did, and might, without him, have done all that was to be done. This night the army came to Hine bay: the enemy came the next morning but one, as I remember; were easily repulsed, with the loss of the best of twenty of their men. During the army staying in this place, the general constantly lay aboard of the ship, two nights excepted. The first night, the army came near to the city of Domingo; General Penn sent in some of his ships, which did much terrify the enemy, who spent their shot very liberally on both

sides, which continued several days. The mortar-piece being got on shore, two small pieces mounted, brandy and whatsoever else the army demanded, with scaling-ladders fitted. At a council of field-officers, it was put to the vote, which way the army should march; and it was pressed hard by the general (Venables) and Fortescue, to march entirely with the army by the fort Geronimo; but the major-general, of happy memory, Colonel Buller, and myself, with Lieutenant-colonel Clarke, were for dividing the army, and marching to the north-west side of the city; but the general was so violent for the contrary, that himself, Fortescue, Doyley, with Holdip, and some others, overvoted us. What reason he had I know not, except his fear to go separated; thinking, as I believe, four thousand men too few for his guard. The next day, the army marched; and after he took horse, I repaired aboard the *Swiftsure*, and acquainted General Penn with his resolution, who rode with the *Swiftsure*, *Paragon*, *Marston-Moor*, *Gloucester*, *Laurel*, *Arms of Holland*, *Portland*, *Selby*, *Dover*, *Falmouth*, *Hound*, within the reach of the shot of Domingo, with intention to have gone very near to batter the city, and scour the inside of the wall, if the army had marched up.

"The forlorn, and some colliers, passed fort Geronimo, but suddenly retreated; yet, that evening, parties, commanded forth under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Bland, stood near the fort, expecting orders to fall on. The enemy did much mischief amongst them, by their artillery from the fort; yet the men seemed, as it was told me, and may easily be proved, willing to adventure, when suddenly the general called a council; Fortescue said, that in honour they were bound to attempt something, but as a Christian he durst not consent. The body of the good major-general was buried privately. The carriage of the mortar-piece burned, the shells buried, and the army dishonourably retreated. The general came aboard the *Swiftsure*, and desired that they might

go for some of the English plantations; hoped your highness reserved his command for him in Ireland, but would not be persuaded to attempt any thing upon Domingo more; so that we moved, the taking in of Jamaica. The 3d of May, set sail from Hispaniola, and the 10th came into the harbour of Jamaica, General Penn leading the way with his own ship; for, after the miscarriage of Hispaniola, I have privately heard him say, 'he would not trust the army with the attempt, if he could come near with his ships;' and indeed did, in the *Martin* galley, run in till she was aground before their breast-work in the bottom of the harbour, at the time when the boats went to land, which was done without any opposition, though much might have been expected. It was twelve at night before the army was all landed; and the next morning, about nine, the army marched, losing the opportunity of the cool of the morning. About two, we came before the town, marched in that night; though the enemy lay within two miles, with their wives and families, yet, by an inconsiderate treaty, he (Venables) permitted them to march away; which (when General Penn came to town) occasioned high words betwixt him and me. The reason wherefore I came home, (if your highness please), when I have the honour to kiss your hand, I shall either render, or be willing to submit to the rigour of that justice which a person offending may justly deserve. In the mean time, am the unworthiest of your highness's faithful servants,

"GREG. BUTLER.

"Jamaica, June 1655."

II. Journal of the *Swiftsure*, and accompanying documents.

"*November* 3*d*, 1654.

"These are to desire you forthwith (wind and weather permitting) to set sail with the ship under your command for

the Downs; and being there arrived, to advertise the Commissioners of the Admiralty, who will give you orders for your further actings. Dated on board the *Swiftsure*, at Spithead, 3d November, 1654.

"WILLIAM PENN.

"To my much-respected friend, John Lawson, Esq., Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, and Commander of the *Fairfax*:[1] these."

To the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have but little of news to acquaint you with in relation to this squadron, but that, blessed be God! we are in a very quiet posture, without the least appearance of discontent; and so I hope, by the blessing of the Lord, we shall continue. Our chief work at present is to reduce the confused business of the victualling into a better method; which I hope, in two days more, we shall bring to some effect.

"I could earnestly wish you would give order that a quantity of 300 tuns of beer might be speedily brought about unto us, much of that here proving defective. And the whole squadron almost being here already, and the rest suddenly expected, a great quantity will be required for their expense.

"Yesterday, the *Welcome*, with her convoy, arrived from Morlaix, and this day are gone forwards towards the Downs. I have taken all the able seamen out of the *Advantage* and *Newbury*, and have ordered them into the harbour of Portsmouth.

"The *Dragon* this day arrived with a French prize, concerning which I refer you to the inclosed examination. I keep her here, at the Spithead, desiring your speedy advice, whether

[1] The reader will remember, that the original *Fairfax*, which Lawson carried out to the Mediterranean in 1651, was accidentally burnt at Chatham, and ordered to be rebuilt with the same dimensions.

it be best to send her about to London, or in here, to Portsmouth. Till then, I shall detain the *Guinea* frigate for her convoy, which also came this day, by order of Vice-Admiral Howett, for a boat and a cable, which she very much wants; and shall presently order away the *Dragon* to her former station. I have no more at present to trouble you with, but remain,

" Gentlemen,

" Your very humble servant,

" W. P.

" From aboard the *Swiftsure*, at Spithead,
November 6th, 1654."

General Disbrowe to Secretary Thurloe.

" Sir, " Portsmouth, 7th Dec. 1654.

" I have perused the instructions, and considered them as fully as my little time would permit; and have little to alter or add but what is inserted in them, with this inclosed paper, which I leave to your judgment to add, the same seeming convenient to me.

" Inclosed is a list of the whole fleet, as you desire, to be inserted in the first article of General Penn's instructions. I also offer, that Major-General Haynes and Vice-Admiral Goodson may be added as commissioners to the whole affair; else, in case of the death of both or either of the generals, they will not be in a capacity fully to act as commander-in-chief. I have thought fit, for the advantage of the service, to add Captain Edward Blagge as a commissioner on the first squadron.

" You may see what my thoughts are as to the instructions, by casting your eye over them, where you will find some few scribbles of mine. That, which concerns money, I cannot for the present ascertain any thing more than £8000, intended as contingencies for the fleet; the money for the

land forces must be what is left of that, which is ordered for them. To what value the letters of credit run, I know not, and therefore can say little to it: only suppose £8000 credit may be enough; and they limited to charge, by exchange, not exceeding £10,000.

"Sir, we are still labouring here to effect what lies under our charge, and were yesterday at Chichester to pass a muster on Colonel Buller's regiment, which is there; and the like shall be done to other regiments, when I understand where they are.

"The first squadron of ships are quite ready, and do not only attend the receiving of the soldiers aboard, whose readiness through want of officers doth no way answer my desire; there being but two regiments, viz. Major-General Haynes' and Colonel Buller's, yet, that I hear of, come, and very few officers with them; which is no small trouble to me, considering the wind is now fair.

"The remainder of the fleet are near ready, the greatest want being water-casks, which come from London; and I shall again mind the Commissioners of the Admiralty, that it may with all possible speed haste hither. Pray tender my very humble service unto his highness, unto whom I have not time to write, neither have more to offer than what I trouble you withall. I remain

"Your very affectionate friend and servant,

"JOHN DISBROWE.

"There is no thoughts of Captain Hatsell's being engaged for the present."

"*To the Commissioners of the Navy.*

"GENTLEMEN, "December 6th, 1654.

"Holding it of great importance to the service in hand, that we have along with us a very good load-stone to touch

the needles of our compass withal (many of them being already not very good), I therefore desire you to buy a right special good one, and send it speedily down, directed to me. And for the more quick effecting hereof, I think fit to acquaint you, that I have some cause to believe Capt. William Badiley can suddenly procure you one fitting our use. But, however, pray let it be as good as may possibly be in time procured, the nature and consequence of the service requiring it. I have not further at present, but to desire you to hasten away the *Crow* to us, with what else is in the river for the use of the squadron. Our stay (according to the best of my judgment) will very suddenly be only for them; wherein you will further oblige,

" Gentlemen, your humble servant,

" W. P."

To General Disbrowe.

" Honoured Sir, " December 11th, 1654.

" Yesterday arrived here the *Nonsuch* frigate, bringing the inclosed; one from Gen. Blake, the other from Capt. Bourne. I had waited on you myself this morning, had it not proved dirty weather; but as soon as it breaks away, I shall. Pray quicken the victuallers concerning the business of our water-casks. &c.

" W. P."

A Journal of every day's Proceedings[1] *in the Expedition of the Fleet sent out into the West Indies under General William Penn.*

December 20th, 1654.

On Wednesday, December 20th, 1654, Rear-Admiral Dakins, with the ships hereunder mentioned, was sent away from Portsmouth towards Barbadoes, in America, with instructions what to do, till the general should arrive there with the rest of the fleet; and they then set sail accordingly.

Torrington,	*Discovery*,	*Tulip*,
Marston-Moor,	*Arms of Holland*,	*Westergatt*,
Laurel,	*Heart's-ease*,	*Gilliflower*,
Indian,	*Cardiff*,	*Falcon* fly-boat,
Convertine,	*Katherine*,	*Falcon* fire-ship.

But the *Indian*, through some accident, was left behind.

25th, Monday.—In the morning, Gen. Disbrowe, Gen. Penn, and Gen. Venables, being come on board the *Swiftsure*, we weighed, and (having taken leave of Gen. Disbrowe)[2] set sail from the Spithead, nigh Portsmouth, towards St. Ellens; but, through the backwardness of some of the ships, and the wind fresh at east, not being able to get out that tide, we came again to an anchor: the *Crow* not yet come out of the river of Thames, and the *Little Charity* staying behind to

[1] I have given the main part of the Journal, viz. from the fleet's sailing from Portsmouth to its departure from Barbadoes; and every word from its arrival at Hispaniola to the end of the expedition. The intermediate part is without any material interest, and may be collected from the letters of Butler, Winslow, and Venables.

[2] General Penn's wife, who had attended his departure from Portsmouth, thus wrote to him on her return to town. "January 2d, 1654–5. I received "your letter by our honoured friend General Disbrowe, who saw me safe to "Kingston, where we dined together; and every one returned to their homes. "The two coachmen were talking together, the whiles one of the wheels "raised up against a bank, and overturned us; but no hurt (thanks be to the "Lord), it being very plain way: it was hard by Godalmin."

bring horses. The *Selby* and *Marigold* went forward on Sunday.

Squadronal Division of the Fleet.

Admiral's Squadron.	V.-Admiral's Squadron.	R.-Admiral's Squadron.
Swiftsure,[1]	*Paragon*,	*Torrington*,
Marston-Moor,	*Lion*,	*Portland*,
Laurel,	*Dover*,	*Indian*,
Mathias,	*Bear*,	*Convertine*,
Great Charity,	*Grantham*,	*Martin*,
Selby,	*Heart's-ease*,	*Katherine*,
Discovery,	*Cardiff*,	*Tulip*,
Arms of Holland,	*Little Charity*,	*Westergatt*,
Golden Cock,	*Pelican* prize,	*Gilliflower*,
Rosebush,	*Adam and Eve*,	*Falcon* fly-boat,
Sampson,	*Marigold*,	*Crow*,
Half-Moon,	*Falmouth*.	*Falcon* fire-ship,
Hound.		*Gloucester*, to attend the fire-ships.

26*th*, *Tuesday*.—Weighed again; but in regard the wind blew hard at east, and that the leeward ships could not get out at St. Ellens, the *Portland* was sent with orders for them all what to do in case of separation; that the place intended directly was Barbadoes; that the most westward rendezvous should be Falmouth, the most eastward Torbay; and therewith commission to take or sink, &c. all ships belonging to the Turks (Algiers excepted), French, and, beyond the tropic of Cancer, Spanish. So the *Swiftsure*, *Paragon*, *Gloucester*, and *Dover*, went about St. Ellens. In the night the wind came about to the S.E., so steered away S.W.

[1] "*Swiftsure*. Built, Deptford, 1621, Woolwich, 1654. Length of keel, 118 feet; breadth by beam, 37·0; depth of hold, 16·0; depth of water, 17·6; tuns, 898. War, men, 380; guns, 64. Taken by the Dutch, June 2d, 1666." —(Reg. of R. Navy. PEPYS' MSS. Bodl.)

Warrant to all the Commanders about to sail to Barbadoes.

"December 25, 1654.

"You are hereby required to take notice, that our present intention is (by the blessing of the Lord) to set sail with the fleet directly for the Island of Barbadoes, in America; and, in case of separation in the Channel by contrary winds and foul weather, you are to repair to Falmouth (if you may), it being appointed the westermost place of rendezvous: but if you cannot get there, you are to go to Torbay, which is appointed the most eastward. And if separation happen in the ocean (which you are to use your utmost endeavours to avoid, by observing strictly your Sailing Instructions), that then you make for the said Island of Barbadoes with all the speed that possibly you may; not touching at any place by the way, unless you are necessitated thereunto. You are hereby also authorised to take, seize, and surprise, or otherwise to sink, burn, or destroy, all Turkish ships or vessels, with their lading, &c. except such as shall appear to belong to Algiers; and also all Spanish ships, vessels, or goods, &c. on the other side of the tropic;[1] and all ships, vessels, or goods belonging to the French king, or any of his subjects, in all places wherever you meet them; and such, or any of such, that shall be taken, that you take special care that nothing on board them be embezzled, but to seal up the hatches, and carry them with you; and, at your arrival at the island aforesaid, to follow such orders as you shall receive (in my absence) from Rear-admiral Dakins. Hereof you are not to fail.

"Given on board the *Swiftsure*, under my hand and seal,

"W. PENN."

[1] This instruction was evidently Cromwell's artifice, to conceal from Spain his intended hostility until he should have had time to strike his blow in the West Indies.

Sailing Instructions.

" I desire you would observe these orders following:

" 1. That as soon as we loose our fore-top sail and fire a gun, being at anchor, every ship make ready and weigh; and being come to sail, you are to make such sail as may be most requisite for company-keeping: if we should come to anchor again, that special care be taken to birth themselves, that each may anchor by other without prejudice.

" 2. If we shall weigh anchor in the night, we shall fire one gun and put a light in the mizen-shrouds, which is to be answered by the respective ships.

" 3. If any one see a ship or ships in the day more than our own division, you are to put abroad your ensign and keep it out till ours is out; and then to strike it so many times as you see ships: if by night, by firing of guns, and making many false fires.

" 4. That if we come by the lee and make a weft with our jack, every ship is to come and speak with us.

" 5. In case of springing a leak by day under sail, or any disaster whereby any ship is disabled of keeping company, that ship or ships shall make a sign thereof, by firing two guns, distinctly one after the other, and hauling up his low sails: if in the night, by hanging two lights in the shrouds, where they may be best seen, and firing of two guns; the sign being given, the rest of the division is to give the best assistance they can.

" 6. If in case of sailing it overblow, (so) that we shorten sail in the night, we shall put out two lights, one over the other, and you are desired each to answer with another light, where it may be best seen: it being understood besides, that each ship, in dark night and foul weather, is to carry a light.

" 7. If it prove thick and foggy weather, you are desired to keep within hearing and report of muskets, beat of drum,

and sound of trumpets, which you must answer with the like.

" 8. If we shall alter our course in the night, we shall fire one gun, without alteration of lights.

" 9. If we chance to tack in the night, we shall shew two lights (abreast) on the poop, more than we had before, and each ship is to answer with one, which light is to be kept out till ours is taken in.

" 10. In case we should lose company, and meet one with the other in the night, he that haileth shall ask, ' What ship is that?' he that is hailed shall answer, ' Commonwealth;' the other, that first hailed, shall reply, ' Flourish!' If in the day, the sign to know each other, he or they that make it shall brail up his main-sails, the other shall lay his fore-sail a-backstays, and brail up his mizen.

" 11. If, by reason of foul weather, we should hand our foresail and lie a-try in the night, then we shall shew three lights (abreast) where they may be best seen, and the rest to answer with the like.

" If we should lie short, or a-hull, in regard of foul weather, or other danger, then we shall shew three lights, one over the other, and the rest to answer with the like.

" 12. If any of the division have occasion to try, or hull, when the rest bears away, he (or they) is to shoot off a piece of ordnance, and shew the same number of lights as in the 11th article.

" 13. When we shall see cause to make sail in the night, after blowing weather, we shall fire two pieces of ordnance, which is to be answered by every flag-ship.

" 14. If any sees land in the night, he that first seeth it, or any danger, is to fire a piece of ordnance, and shew as many lights as he can, and bear away or tack from it.

" 15. If any one have an extraordinary occasion to speak with me, the sign is to lower his top-sails and fire a gun."

January 29th, 1655, *Monday*.—This day, in the morning about eight, we saw the Island of Barbadoes right a-head. At three, we came to an anchor in Hawles Bay, where we found the rear-admiral, and all that came out of England with him, save the *Marston-Moor*, whom he sent away with some instructions to the governor of the island before-hand. The rear-admiral's fleet arrived here the day before us.

31*st, Wednesday*.—This day the commissioners sat at the governor's, and the council of the island attended them. I was commanded to read the commissions in their hearing. After which, General Venables and the rest made several speeches to them; as, to spread all the design, the grounds, motives, justice, honour, and inducements thereof; how unanimously it was concluded by my lord and council at home, and freely assented to by parliament; and how it would be vigorated with continual and considerable supplies and ships. Also, what invitations had led hereunto by some eminent persons on this island; and the assurance that had been given him of considerable strength he might have from hence. Also, what expectation he had from them; and withal hinted unto them the considerations of their own island: how, in a few years, they would be in a decaying condition, and then necessitated to look out for another place: and that, in case this design miscarried, the King of Spain would look on them as a too dangerous neighbour; and never leave, till he had got the thorn out of his side, that came so near his heart.

The gentlemen thanked the commissioners for giving them so much light in the business, and of the reasons of the design; but seemed displeased with such as had given the invitation to my lord, on assurance of great forces; but, in short, promised their utmost to further it. So there was given them, in writing, six queries, upon which they withdrew to consult. This evening a council was called, and the

captains were ordered to send three or four trusty men on board each of the Dutch ships to secure them.

By the General of the Fleet.

Against the Seamen's doing any injury to the Planters.

"Forasmuch as I have been informed that the seamen belonging to the State's ships, under pretence of going on shore to fetch water, have formerly wandered up into the plantations, and made spoil of the sugar-canes and provisions, to the great prejudice of the inhabitants of the island; for preventing of the like abuses at present, these are straitly to charge and command all seamen belonging to this fleet that are sent on shore to fetch water, or otherwise, that they wander not into any of the said plantations: but when they have necessary occasions, or leave to walk up into the country, that they keep the ordinary pathways, and forbear offering any wrong, committing any spoil, or using any injurious language or comportment to any of the inhabitants of the island; or meddle with any thing that belongs to them, without giving them satisfaction for the same; and that they presume not to carry fire, or take tobacco, nigh the place where any sugar-canes are, whereby they may be endangered of firing, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril. Given on board the State's ship *Swiftsure*, the 1st of February, 1654-5.

"W. P.

"*Postscript.*—All seamen belonging to the fleet are hereby further strictly charged and commanded, at their peril, not to be on shore after the gun is discharged and the watch set, unless it be on some extraordinary occasion; and that they have tickets for the same from the commanders of the respective ships to which they do belong.

"W. P.

"Dated as aforesaid.

"The vice-admiral is hereby desired and authorised to publish this on board the ship under his command, and to issue out copies hereof; and orders to the captains of his squadron, to publish it on board their ships respectively.

"The like to the rear-admiral, and Captain Poole (captain of the general's ship).

"And gave Colonel Hawley one, to set up at the landing-place for water."

Captains to walk the rounds on shore every night.

"Whereas I have already given charge and command unto the seamen of this fleet, not to be on shore at night after the gun is discharged and the watch set: now, to the end the same may be duly observed, these are to desire and authorise any two or three commanders of the fleet to take with them such of their ship's company for their guard as they shall think fit, and to walk the town and places adjacent every night, in company with such officers as the honourable the governor of the island shall appoint for that purpose; and that all such seamen as they shall apprehend, or find tippling, or any otherwise employed after the time limited (except in case of business, and for which they have tickets under their respective commanders' hands), they commit to the common and usual prison of the town, there to be kept until the next morning; and then to be brought on board this ship to be tried by a council of war, that punishment may be inflicted on them as the nature of the offence shall deserve.

"W. P.

"February 1, 1654–5."

By the General of the Fleet.

Against Profanation of the Lord's Day, &c.

"1. That no boat or boats, person or persons, belonging to the fleet, do pass to and fro upon the Lord's Day, unless upon public necessary business.

"2. Whereas some of the ships are destitute of ministers, and some of the men belonging to such ships, under pretence of going on shore to hear the Gospel preached, are met with idling and mispending their time; for prevention whereof you are not to suffer them to go on shore, but permit them to go on board some other ships of the fleet, where the word of God is preached.

"3. That every person that shall blaspheme the name of God, or swear, or be drunk on board any ship of the fleet (whether the said person belong to the shore, or to any merchant ship or vessel), shall be punished after this manner, (viz.) he shall pay five shillings, or twenty pounds of sugar, for every such offence, which is to be converted to the use of the sick and wounded of the ship where such offence shall be committed; and in case of non-payment thereof, the party offending to suffer twenty stripes on the bare back, to be given him with the whip wherewith offenders in such or the like cases are usually punished.

"4. That musters of the ships' companies be taken every morning (if it may conveniently be), and such as shall be found absent, and have not leave from their commanders for the same, are not to receive victuals until they have suffered according to their offences; in which you are to be very careful. And the victuals that shall be saved hereby, are to be accounted for, and improved to the advantage and benefit of the State.

"5. To bring an exact and speedy account, how much

old flesh hath been spent in each respective ship since the 20th of November last, and how much remains.

"February 1, 1654–5.

"The above-said was delivered to the three flag-officers, and they are authorised and desired to issue out copies hereof to the commanders of ships in their squadron."

By William Penn, &c.

Instructions to be observed by the Captains and Commanders of Ships and Frigates, employed in this present Expedition into America, by order of his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, by and with the consent of his Council.

"1. You shall take care to preserve the honour, jurisdiction, territories, and people of the Commonwealth of England within the extent of your employment; and, in all places where you shall sail, endeavour (as much as in you lieth) that no nation or people intrude hereon, or injure any of them.

"2. You shall do your endeavour to protect all ships and vessels belonging to the people of the Commonwealth of England, or to any of the islands or plantations thereof in America.

"3. You are to cause the laws of war established by parliament to be once a month openly read, and to be set up, and constantly hung, in some public place of the ship under your command, whereby the officers and seamen under your command may have free access thereunto; to the end they may have no just cause of pleading ignorance, in case of their offending against any of them.

"4. You are also to publish and proclaim, or cause to be published and proclaimed, all such orders and commands as from time to time you shall receive from me (or by my

order) that are necessary to be made known to the seamen of your ship; as also to take notice of such orders and commands as shall be fixed up at our main-masts, and to see that the same are duly observed and put in execution aboard your ship.

"5. You are to take special care, that no person be entertained on board your ship as chaplain but such as fear God, are well principled in religion, and whose practice in life and conversation is agreeable to the rules of the Gospel. And if the chaplain of your ship hath no warrant for his place, upon your certificate, and that of the chief officer of your squadron, that he is a person so qualified, as aforesaid, I will give him one, whereby he may receive the accustomed allowance for that service; provided it be desired, within one month from the date hereof.

"6. You are, once a week, to take an account of all the officers of your ship in whose charge are any provisions or stores; of what expense hath been made, and what remains in their hands; also, what number of serviceable men you have; that when you come aboard this ship, you may at all times be able to give me a particular account of your ship's condition in the premises.

"7. You are not only carefully to see that all stores and provisions be well husbanded and kept from waste, but also to take special care that they be preserved from spoiling, rotting, or corrupting; and, to that end, you are to give it strictly in charge to the respective officers to whose care and custody any stores or provisions are committed, and to see it done yourself, that they often view them over; and, as occasion requires and opportunity shall serve, to turn, air, dry, and to use all other means needful and suitable to the nature and quality of the several things to be preserved: and that those things that begin, or are inclinable to perish or decay, be first spent, that the service may not suffer through any neglect or default herein.

"8. In case any seamen shall be, by order, turned over from your ship into another, you are to give such seamen their clothes and necessaries, and to deliver their respective tickets unto the captain or commander of that ship to which they are turned over, to be safely kept by him till the time of their discharge: but, if the necessities of the families or relations of any of them shall be such as cannot admit of staying till their return home and discharge, that then you (being assured that the parties so receiving the tickets do not desert the service) do endorse the same on the back-side of the said tickets, and the names of the persons to whom they are to be paid, that they may be so transmitted to the Commissioners of the Navy, by some safe conveyance: and no captain is to let any tickets go out of his hands but such as are so certified and endorsed, as aforesaid.

"9. Whereas, it was lately resolved, at a council of war, that six should come to four men's allowance throughout the whole fleet, for the lengthening out of the victuals; you are hereby strictly charged to keep an exact account of the number of men that shall be, from time to time, borne on your ship, to the end, that when bills shall be made out for the payment of the victuals so abated, you may, by your own knowledge, sign it, with the cheque and steward; to the end that the state may not be damnified thereby: and, for the premises, this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal, this 6th February, 1654-5.

"W. P."

"Forasmuch as sundry complaints have been made touching the defects of provisions on board divers of the State's ships in this fleet; and to the end that some certain knowledge may be had of the truth thereof, and that timely remedies may be applied thereunto, I have thought fit to appoint the masters of the three flag-ships surveyors of the

provisions on board the ships of their respective squadrons: these are, therefore, to authorise and desire you, John Whetstone, master of this ship, calling to your assistance, and taking along with you, any two masters of ships out of the other squadrons, from time to time to repair on board the ships of this squadron, or any of them, so often as occasion shall require the same, and there to view and survey the several sorts of provisions that shall be complained of; and if such complaint shall be made of the provisions on board this ship (whereof you are master) that then you call to your assistance the master of one of the other flag-ships, and the other two aforesaid, and proceed to the survey as aforesaid; and that you certify unto me, under your hands, the condition you shall find such provision to be in, both in respect of the quantity and quality thereof; and, in case of defects, what you conceive to be the causes thereof. But you are not to proceed at any time on such survey before you have first acquainted me therewith, and received such further directions as I shall see good to give you, and as the case may require. In the premises you are not to fail, and this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal of (the) anchor, on board the State's ship *Swiftsure*, riding in Carlisle Bay, at Barbadoes, this 16th of February, 1654-5.

"W. P.

"To Mr. John Whetstone, Master of the State's Ship *Swiftsure*."

February 20, *Tuesday*. — All the captains of the fleet, almost, at a council of war, were ordered to train such of their ship's company, and so many, as they conceived might be drawn forth for land-service on an exigent; and to bring in an account of what muskets, pistols, pikes, and half-pikes, they have on board.

" *To Captain Robert Saunders, Commander of the States' Ship* Dover, *these.*

" Sir, " February 26, 1654–5.

" Those of your ship's company that you sent about with the *Hamburgher* on Friday, and the Dutch vessel on yesterday, having committed many unhandsome and unwarrantable acts in those vessels, by breaking open the men's chests, plundering, and carrying away divers sorts of goods, and tearing the men's shirts from off their backs, to the great scandal and dishonour of the fleet, and contrary to the practice thereof; I have thought good to send this unto you, to let you know, that I wonder not at these insolencies in your men, since yourself having given them such encouragement by your own examples, in taking out the negroes, goats, &c. On what ground you should presume to do these extravagancies, I know not; sure I am, they are beyond any commission, warrant, or instruction you have received. I hoped better things from you; but seeing you have deceived my expectation, I therefore hereby require you, with all speed, to repair hither in the boat by which you shall receive this, to answer the crimes (that) shall be objected against you; and that you bring with you all things whatsoever that have been taken out of any vessel, either by yourself or others of your ship's company (whereof you may have knowledge), since the arrival of the fleet at this place. Hereof, I expect you fail not; for 'tis you, undoubtedly, must make satisfaction for the whole, to the utmost farthing: not else, I rest,

" Yours, &c.

" W. P."

To the same.

" Sir,

" I was desired by the commissioners for managing the affairs in America to call together all the commanders of

English merchant-ships, and to acquaint them with an order of theirs, whereby the said masters are strictly commanded not to lade any goods whatsoever on board their ships for the future, until they have made oath before William Vassall, Esq., that, to the best of their knowledge, none of such goods as they are to lade, belong, in any manner whatsoever, either directly or indirectly, to any of the Dutch nation; and also, to take the like oath for such goods as they have already laded before this oath could be intimated unto them; which I have accordingly performed, to all the said commanders riding in this Bay: and I do hereby desire you to call likewise together all those that have command of any English ship or vessel now in Spikes Bay, or places adjacent, and acquaint them, that they are not to lade any goods until they have first repaired to the bridge, and taken the aforesaid oath, before the said Mr. Vassall; and that, at that time, they be prepared to give an account unto him what goods they have on board, and who laded it. I have nothing else at present, only that I wonder you carried away your boatswain, I having told you that he should be called to an account for his misdemeanours. I rest,

"Your affectionate friend,

"W. P.

"From on board the *Swiftsure*,
this 7th of March, 1654–5."

March 17*th*, *Saturday*.—This day (we) sent a packet into England by Captain Henry Collins, commander of the *Malaga* merchant. Among other things, it was advertised to General Disbrowe, that three places had been proposed to fall upon, viz. Havanna, Carthagena, and St. Domingo: the first being very populous, strong castles, and (peradventure the gallions being there) many soldiers on the place, would question the mastership of the field; and, if we gained that,

then it would require a siege of more time than our condition would admit of. The second was rich, but its wealth might quickly be conveyed up into the country out of our reach, and the parts adjacent being barren, could not supply us with victuals; so that by the whole commission, *nemine contradicente*, it was resolved, first, to go for St. Domingo; and the rather, for that it would be a convenient retreat if our after attempts should not take; and for our recruits from England and other parts to come to us, and to plant a colony in.[1]

To His Highness the Lord Protector.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

"On the last of December (being the 6th day after our setting sail from Portsmouth) perceiving we lost much time in attending some heavy-sailing ships of our company, and apprehending it might very much import the good of your Highness's service for us to be early at this place, I did (with the approbation of General Venables and Mr. Winslow) make sail with some of the more nimble ships, and order the rest to follow in company together so fast as they could. Our arrival here was on the 29th of January, where we found the rear-admiral and his squadron, who came in the day before. The *Marston-Moor* (one of his company, and by him sent away with Major-General Haynes and Captain Butler to put in execution your highness's instructions at this place, in hopes she would have been here some time before any other of the fleet) missed the island and came to leeward; but on the 30th she arrived, and in two days after that, all the others, by me left, came also in.

[1] Here we have another demonstration of the falsity of Clarendon's assertion, repeated from him by Oldmixon and so many succeeding writers, that Cromwell had bound down the commissioners to a specific point of assault, by "very particular and very positive orders, &c." See above, p. 29.

"What hath been done here on the shore, in order to your highness's service, and also what concerns the seizure we have made of foreign ships, I shall humbly refer your highness to our joint letter. Two ships of our fleet we yet have no news of, (viz.) the *Great Charity* and the *Pelican* prize: to the former befell some disaster the second night after our setting sail, whereof by the much wind and the darkness of the night we could not inform ourselves; the other sprung a leak about 40 leagues to the westward of Scilly, and was thereby, in the judgment of some captains of other ships (who surveyed the same), held disabled to proceed on the voyage; so that her soldiers being taken into other ships, she returned, and might (we suppose) fetch some part of Ireland, the wind being easterly. As for the *Little Charity*, and *Crow*, the Commissioners for the Admiralty can give your highness an account of their stay.

"Our numbers swell every day here more and more, and in all probability will much more increase when we come to pitch any where; so that our provision (which rationally cannot be expected to be recruited from this, nor any of the leeward islands) will, by so many mouths as must be fed upon it, soon come to fail, and we thereby (be) reduced to great extremities, unless, by your highness's goodness, some order be given for a timely and large supply to be sent unto us. We find, by exact inquiry, that New England, which we chiefly had reliance on for supplies, especially of bread, cannot possibly furnish us with any considerable quantity; and though all their bakehouses should constantly be employed, it will fall hugely short of that proportion which the expense of this fleet and army will require. What they can spare they usually send to this market, where the planters take off all they bring at excessive rates; so that I humbly conceive supplies may be had much cheaper, and (considering the time that must be allowed for getting it up together) with more speed, from

Old England than from thence: though we shall not be wanting to use all endeavours for what it may be able to afford us.

"The mercy of the Lord hath most eminently been seen amongst us hitherto, both in the quick and fair passage He gave us, and in the general health both of land and seamen; which we hope is an earnest of His presence, and of His favour to this design; and are very much encouraged to wait on Him for the accomplishment of His good pleasure concerning the same.

"We have a very gallant regiment, consisting of 1200 proper stout seamen, who are headed by their own officers, and exercised on shore almost every day; they are very free, and ready for land service when they shall be commanded thereunto.

"Throughout the whole fleet (praised be God) we are in a very quiet and cheerful posture; only the officers have been instant with me to become a suitor to your highness, in the behalf of themselves and the seamen, that you would be pleased to declare what they may rely on for their shares of such ships as shall be taken as prize on the seas, and what provisional care shall be taken for the persons of the maimed and relations of the slain in this service; touching which I have particularly written to General Disbrowe, entreating him to join his solicitation to my humble desires unto your highness therein: and for the present, (apprehending it necessary, or at least very convenient, so to do,) I have promised them the same encouragements they had in the Dutch war, to which they made no disliking reply; only humbly desired it might be considered, that their work is, and undoubtedly will be, subject to more hardships and difficulties, and, through the remoteness thereof, would be much more uncomfortable in this than in the other service: wherein, I humbly conceive, they were not very far from right.

"We cannot get any certain intelligence of the Spaniard's strength by sea in those parts; only we understand by one that, about six weeks since, came from an island to leeward, called Curaçoa, possessed by the Dutch, and is near Coro on the Main, that there is an armada at the Havanna; but he could say nothing as to the strength, or other particulars thereof.

"Your highness's, &c.

"WILLIAM PENN.

"At Barbadoes, the 17th March, 1654–5."

"March the 19th, 1654–5.

"*William Penn, Admiral and General of the Fleet of the Commonwealth of England, appointed for this present Expedition.*

"*To Colonel William Goodson.*

"Whereas it is held fit and necessary, for the more vigorous prosecution of the intended service in America, that a regiment of seamen be listed and drawn forth of the fleet to serve on land when occasion shall require the same; these are therefore to constitute and appoint you colonel of the said regiment of seamen; and you are hereby authorised and desired to take charge and command thereof, and duly (as opportunity shall serve) to train and exercise in arms the inferior officers and soldiers of the said regiment, and use your best care and endeavour to keep them in good order and discipline: hereby strictly requiring them to obey you as their colonel, and you to observe and follow (whilst you are on shore) such orders and directions as you shall receive from the Right Honourable General Robert Venables, Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces, until further orders

from me, either for your repair again on board, or otherwise: given on board the *Swiftsure*, &c.[1]

"The like was given to lieutenant-colonel, major, captain, lieutenant, and ensign, *mutatis mutandis*; (viz.) Colonel Goodson; Lieut.-Colonel Ben. Blake; Major Edward Blagg; Captains Francis Kerby, Humphry Felshed, Barth. Ketcher, Robert Mill, William Tickle, David Kats, and John Molam: Capt. Thomas Blackman commands the colonel's company."

To Captain Blagg, Commander of the Marston-Moor.

"Sir,

"Herewith you will receive the commissioner's letters to yourself and gentlemen joined in commission with you, which I desire you to communicate, with all speed, unto them: and, in regard I chiefly rely on you for what relates unto the sea in that your negotiation, I have sent this vessel on purpose to let you know, that this day we have shipped the soldiers, and some time to-morrow shall set sail from this place; and do therefore earnestly desire you immediately to prepare and put in readiness your frigate, the *Selby*; and what other ships or vessels you may have seized, in pursuance of your instructions; for a present departure thence. As to the place where you are to meet me, you shall understand by another vessel, which shall be very suddenly dispatched after this.

"Sir, you will conceive how much it imports the service, that we punctually meet at the times and places which shall be assigned, and the great inconvenience that will arise from

[1] Burchett, Campbell, and even Heath, have very inconsiderately stated, that "General Venables formed a new regiment of seamen to serve upon occasion at land; who were put under the conduct of Vice-Admiral Goodson." Venables had nothing whatever to do with the seamen; I have, therefore, inserted the above commission at length, to shew the error.

our separation. Wherefore, I do again enforce my desires, that you will use all possible care to be in a posture for present repairing to the place you shall have notice of in my next, which, after your receipt of this, you may every hour be in expectation of. Pray present my service to the gentlemen with you: I remain, Sir,

"Your affectionate friend,

"W. P.

"From on board the *Swiftsure*, in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, the 29th March, 1655."

31*st*, *Saturday*.—The general and his lady came on board, and the governor and his, and many of the chiefs of the island, and dined. After some business was dispatched, and letters written for England to the Commissioners of the Admiralty and General Disbrowe, and orders left with the governor for those ships that were not yet come unto us, we set sail.

"*March* 31*st*, 1655.

"Robert Blake, George Monk, John Disbrowe, and William Penn, Admirals and Generals of the Fleet of the Commonwealth of England.

"*Instructions for the better ordering of the Fleet in Fighting.*

"1. Upon discovery of a fleet, receiving a sign from the general (which is to be, striking the general's ensign, and making a weft), one frigate appointed out of each squadron is to make sail, and to stand with them so nigh as conveniently they may, the better to get a knowledge what they are, and of what quality, how many fire-ships and others, and in what

posture the fleet is; which being done, the frigates are to speak together, and conclude on the report they are to give; and, accordingly, repair to their respective squadrons and commanders-in-chief: and not to engage, if the enemies' ships shall exceed them in number, except it shall appear to them on the place (that) they have an advantage.

"2. At sight of the said fleet, the vice-admiral, or he that commands in chief in the second place, and his squadron, as also the rear-admiral, or he that commands in chief in the third place, and his squadron, are to make what sail they can to come up to the admiral on each wing, the vice-admiral on the right, and the rear-admiral on the left; giving a competent distance for the admiral's squadron, if the wind will permit, and there be sea-room enough.

"3. As soon as they shall see the general engage, or make a signal by firing two guns, and putting out a red flag on the fore-topmast head, that then each squadron shall take the best advantage they can to engage the enemy next to them; and, in order hereunto, all the ships of every squadron shall endeavour to keep in a line with the chief, unless the chief of their squadron be either lamed, or otherwise disabled (which God forbid!), whereby the said ship which wears the flag shall not come in to do the service which is requisite. Then, every ship of the said squadron shall endeavour to get in a line with the admiral, or the commander-in-chief next to him, and nearest the enemy.

"4. If any squadron shall happen to be overcharged, or distressed, the next squadron, or ship, are immediately to make towards their relief and assistance, upon signal given them; which signal shall be, in the admiral's squadron, a pendant on the fore-topmast head: in the vice-admiral's squadron, or he that commands in chief in the second place, a pendant on the main-topmast head; and the rear-admiral's squadron, the like.

"5. In case any ship shall be distressed and disabled by

loss of masts, shot under water, or otherwise, so as she is in danger of being sunk or taken, then they thus distressed shall make a sign by the weft of his jack or ensign, and those next to him are strictly required to relieve him.

"6. That if any ship shall be necessitated to bear away from the enemy, to stop a leak, or mend what else is amiss, which cannot otherwise be repaired, he is to put a pendant on the mizen yard-arm, or on the ensign-staff, whereby the rest of the ships may have notice what it is for; and if it should be the admiral, or any flag-ship should do so, the ships of the fleet, or the respective squadrons, are to endeavour to keep as close in a line between him and the enemy, as they can; having always an eye to defend him, in case the enemy should come to annoy him in that condition.

"7. In case the admiral should have the wind of the enemy, and that other ships of the fleet should have the wind of the admiral, then, upon hoisting up of a blue flag at the mizen-yard, or topmast head, every ship is to bear up into his wake, or graine, upon pain of severe punishment. In case the admiral be to leeward of the enemy, and his fleet, or any part thereof, to leeward of him; to the end such ships to leeward may come into line with the admiral, if he shall put abroad a flag as before, and bear up, none that are to leeward are to bear up, but to keep his or their luff, thereby to gain his wake, or graine.

"8. If the admiral will have any of the ships to make sail, and endeavour, by tacking or otherwise, to gain the wind of the enemy, he will put up a red flag on the spritsail-topmast shrouds, fore-stay, or fore-topmast stay. He that first discovers the signal shall make sail, and hoist and lower his jack and ensign, that the rest of the ships may take notice thereof, and follow.

"9. If we put a red flag on the mizen-shrouds, or mizen-yard-arm, we would have all the flag-ships to come up into the wake, or graine, of us.

" 10. If, in time of fight, God shall deliver any of the enemy's ships into our hands, special care is to be taken to save their men, as the present state of our condition will permit in such cases; but, that such ships be immediately destroyed, by sinking or burning the same; that so our own ship be not disabled, or any work interrupted, by departing of men or boats from the ship. And this we require all commanders to be more than ordinarily careful of.

" 11. None shall fire upon any ship of the enemy that is laid on board by any of our own ships; but so as he may be sure not to endamage his friend.

" 12. That it is the duty of all commanders and masters of small frigates, ketches, and smacks, belonging to the several squadrons, to know the fire-ships belonging to the enemy; and, accordingly, by observing their motion, to do their utmost to cut off their boats, if possible; or, if opportunity be, that they lay them aboard, seize, and destroy them. And, to this purpose, they are to keep to windward in time of service. But, in case we cannot prevent the fire-ships from coming aboard us; by clapping between us and them (which by all means possible they are to endeavour), that then, in such cases, they shew themselves men in such an exigent, and steer on board them, and with their boats, grapnels, and other means, clear them from us, and destroy them: which service (if honourably done) according to its merits shall be rewarded; and the neglect thereof, strictly and severely called to account.

" 13. That the fire-ships in the several squadrons endeavour to keep the wind; and they, with the small frigates, to be as near the great ships as they may, to attend the signal from the general, or commander-in-chief, and to act accordingly. If the admiral hoist up a white flag at the mizen-yard arm, or topmast head, all the small frigates of his squadron are to come under his stern, for orders.

" 14. That if an engagement by day shall continue till

night, and the general please to anchor, that then, upon his signal given, they all anchor in as good order as may be, the signal being as in the *Instructions for Sailing*. And if the general please to retreat without anchoring, then the signal to be firing two guns, so near one the other as the report may be distinguished, and within three minutes to do the like with two guns more."

* * * * * * * * *

"April 12th, 1655.

"Whereas a regiment of seamen are appointed to go on shore, under the command of Colonel Goodson, and that it is held necessary that an able chirurgeon do go along with him; these are therefore to authorise you unto the said employment; and you are hereby required to attend the person of the said colonel on shore, as chirurgeon unto the said regiments; and to take with you two such able chirurgeon's mates as you shall make choice of out of the fleet (who are also required to give obedience, and conform hereunto); as likewise such a competent proportion of medicaments for the present use out of the chirurgeon's stores on board the *Paragon*, as you shall judge necessary; which proportion (on your receipt produced) shall be made good again out of

[1] "9th April, I went," says Evelyn, "to see the great ship newly built "by the usurper Oliver, carrying 96 brass guns, and 1000 tons burthen. In "the prow was Oliver on horseback, trampling six nations under foot, a Scott, "Irishman, Dutchman, Frenchman; Spaniard, and English, as was easily made "out by their several habits. A Fame held a laurel over his insulting head; "the word, 'God with us.'"—This ship was called by Cromwell the *Naseby*, in commemoration of his victory obtained over the king's forces at that place, June 14, 1645; but its name was changed to that of the *Charles*, at the Restoration. The following were its true dimensions:—"*Charles*—*Naseby*. Built "at Woolwich, 1655; length of keel, 131 feet; breadth by beam, 42 feet; "depth of hold, 2[illegible] feet 8 inches; depth of water, 20 feet 6 inches; tons, "1229. War, men, 650; guns, 100."—(Reg. R. Navy, PEPYS' MSS. Bodl.)

the chirurgeon's chest of the fleet. Hereof you are not to fail, and this shall warrant your so doing. Given on board the *Swiftsure*, &c.

" W. P.

" To Mr. Clark,
Assistant to the chirurgeon-general."

April 13*th*, *Friday*.—We came in sight of St. Domingo, which lieth in a bay, about 27 or 28 leagues to the westward of Savona; the shore of Hispaniola, all along to it, appearing low and very even, without hills, but rocky, and a great surf of the sea against it, insomuch that in many places we saw the beatings of the water appear afar off like the smoke of ordnance; the wind being but indifferent. The bay, we guessed to be about 8 or 10 leagues over, from point to point; and the town to be in the bottom of it, on the west side of a river which comes down a great way out of the country. About two in the afternoon, Gen. Venables and great part of the army, with the sea-regiment, having shipped themselves all into part of the fleet, went to a landing-place to leeward, called ,[1] ten leagues distant from the town; and Colonel Buller's, and 500 of Colonel Holdip's regiments, stayed with us that day, plying to and again to windward of the town. Those that went away carried, each man, three days' victual (their meats ready boiled), their bandileers full of powder, and some small quantity of surplus, with bullet and match answerable to it; but (as I yet understand) without any artillery for the field, or shovels, spades, pick-axes, &c., or axes and hatchets.

14*th*, *Saturday*.—We kept plying to and again to windward, at some good distance from the town; and about four in the afternoon, Col. Buller and Col. Holdip were sent off in nine ships, to land to leeward of the town, at the mouth of

[1] Name omitted.

the river Hina, contrary to the former resolution of landing to the windward: the pilots not being able to give good account of any fit place, on this side, for going on shore. At night, we saw the light of a great fire to leeward, which we supposed might be our army after landing.

15*th*, *Sunday*.—Most of the ships that carried the army came plying up again unto us, and informed, that the army was all landed, save one or two ships that ran too far to leeward (having no orders where the place of landing was, or what motion to observe in the flag-ships that went with them, concerning the same); but it was supposed, that by this time they were all landed. The others began to land at the narrow end of a beach yesterday morning, about four; and were all on shore very safely, and without any damage, by four afternoon. The enemy might easily have forbidden it, with 500 men; but, appearing only with a small party of horse (supposed not 100), and some few disordered foot, (they) never attempted to dispute it. After landing, the major-general and Col. Carter were sent three or four miles to leeward, to make good another landing-place for the leeward ships; and the rest, that night, marched up three or four miles into the country, and made the fire before mentioned.

This afternoon, the *Martin* returned from coasting the main; but having taken nothing, could give no intelligence about the Caraccas. She was set on by two Spanish ships, of 400 men in both. She, after three hours and a half fight with them, and the loss of one man, got away; and thinking to stretch over to Savona, was carried by the current so far to the leeward as the place where the army landed.

The nine ships that carried Col. Buller and Col. Holdip also returned with them, they not holding it fit to land at that time, in regard of a strong party of the enemy, horse and foot, that appeared, and were casting up a breast-work against them. They were ordered presently to return, and endeavour, what possibly (they could), to land, and join with Gen.

Venables, who by that time might be come to the said river of Hina. And the rear-admiral was ordered to take some of the heavy ships and prizes, as he should think fit of, and to be about the mouth of the river to assist them; and to hold intelligence with Gen. Venables, and supply him with victuals, ammunition, and what else in the fleet that might further the service.

"*To Rear-Admiral Dakins, Commander of the States' Ship* Torrington, *these.*

"SIR,

"I know not how you and Gen. Venables have contrived the business of supply of victuals and ammunition for the army; but, to the end it may timely be sent unto them, in regard their march may be longer than was supposed, I hold it to be very convenient, that yourself in the *Torrington,* with such of the heavy-sailing ships or prizes as you think fit, should make some halt (by anchoring or otherwise) off the river Hina, making it your business to hold correspondence with Gen. Venables, especially at his passing that river; and (to) supply the army, according to his desires, with victuals, ammunition, and what else is in the fleet, and shall be demanded for carrying on the present service.[1] And, if Col. Buller's and Col. Holdip's regiments be not landed there (according to their orders), afford them what assistance you may. No more at present, but that I am,

"Your truly affectionate friend,

"April 15th, 1655." "W. P."

[1] This was Penn's letter to his Rear-Admiral; which Burchett, and from him Campbell, affirms to have been addressed to Blagg, with instructions "*not* "*to furnish the army with any provisions of what kind soever.*"—See above, page 36.

16*th*, *Monday.*—General Penn, in the *Martin*, went to them, and continued there all day, but we continued plying, as formerly; and could hear nothing that was done, only saw a smoke which lasted two hours, in and about the fort the enemy hath a mile to the south-westward of the town in the bay. This night the wind coming various, we and the ships with us were driven twelve leagues to the leeward.

17*th*, *Tuesday.*—We plied up to windward, and about three o'clock came up even with the town. About six, the general came to us. We understood this day that Colonel Buller and Colonel Holdip landed the day before, and were marched up along the river; that General Venables about ten before noon this day passed the river dry foot, and was drawing towards the town; that a negro (formerly servant to Sir Thomas Warner, and slave these twelve years in this place) came to them, and told them that the Spanish force consisted of 3000 horse and foot, which, on the approach of our forces, was retired into the town; that they are in apprehension of (us), in regard they confess that the Lord fighteth for us. A good quantity of meat was boiled; and that, with bread, &c., was landed at Hina, and secured in a house for the army, when they thought good to send for it: the rear-admiral and his ships still continuing at anchor there. Some bickerings we could perceive about the fort. This night, Captain Fernes returned from sounding the harbour; and told us, that the Spaniards made sally out of the town, but were repulsed back again by ours.

18*th*, *Wednesday.*—We stood in more nigh to the town than formerly, and some frigates went in within gun-shot, and anchored, notwithstanding they fired many ordnance at them. They seemed to be ill gunners, most of all their shot falling within strange distances from the ships aimed at. General Penn writ to General Venables, that if he thought good (for the speedier conveyance of supplies from the fleet to the army, and holding a more quick correspondence) to take

in the fort a mile and a half westward of the town, that on notice from him of the time, he would send force against it; he would appoint some ships to amuse them, at the same time, with ordnance, which might peradventure scare them from their guns. This night, about twelve, a messenger came with a letter from the rear-admiral, which imported, that the general, Venables, had sent for match and brandy, which he had accordingly sent unto (him), but, for want of rundlets, could not send so much brandy as he desired; also, that he had sent all his carpenters to make scaling ladders on shore.

19*th*, *Thursday*.—This day, the town, from the castle, and fort at the west end of the town, kept playing all day on five of our ships that rode within shot, which answered them in the same language. Little hurt they did the ships. About eleven, General Venables, Commissioner Butler, and C. Cary, came on board, by whom we understood, that on Tuesday they marched towards the town; that, in the bushes betwixt the town and the westward fort one mile and a half from it, called Jeronimo, an ambuscade of the enemy was laid, which, rushing forth, engaged ours betwixt the general and the Forlorn (the general being then in the head of the Forlorn, with a musket on his shoulder, in design to take view of the town and fort). The enemy taking him, and two more with him (one of which was presently taken off with a great shot from the fort), for common soldiers, neglected them; and falling on the Forlorn, gave him opportunity to get behind the bushes, and so about to his own men. Both town and fort presently after played with their great guns upon them, and did some execution. Our Forlorn was led by Major Blagg, and seconded by the Reformados. The enemy was quickly repelled, though first they had put the Forlorn in disorder. In this encounter were slain some thirty of ours, among which was Captain Jennings, commander of the Reformados, Captain Cats, Captain Cox, and Mr. Munford, with others. Major Blagg and Mr. Temple

(since dead thereof), with others, wounded; and Adjutant-General Walker, thought to be slain, in regard as yet no news of him. The army being in great distress for water, (some two or three hundred being supposed to have famished for want thereof), was enforced to retreat to the river Hina, whither they came that night, and yet remain to refresh themselves. A treacherous Irishman, under pretence of bringing the general to a place where fresh water was, had drawn him down close under the fort Jeronimo ere it was discovered, from whence most hurt came by artillery. Gen. Venables, when on board, took a vomit.

20*th*, *Friday*.—This day, about three afternoon, General Venables returned towards the army, taking with him his wife; Mr. Winslow accompanying him. This day, a party of the enemy fell in and came within half pistol-shot of the main-guard, killing some of our men (especially stragglers), supposed thirty; and had done more mischief, had not Providence ordered it that, at that time, Colonel Fortescue had drawn up 500 men to go forth for discovery, by whom they were soon repulsed, leaving behind them the commander of the party, and about twenty-five of their cow-killers and negroes: two Irishmen run from us to the town. The negro of Sir Thomas Warner's (above mentioned) behaved himself stoutly in this day's work; killed one and wounded another, calling out to our men, "Give the dogs no quarter." This day, the general gave orders for helving and grinding the axes and brown-bills.

21*st*, *Saturday*.—This day, the rear-admiral signified that the army intended to march on Monday; that they were labouring hard to supply them with provisions; brandy, match, and powder spent apace. That the sea breaking so far from the shore, it was very difficult to send in any boats for water at Hina; that he had lost one boat, and two or three men, about it. That the army was to have six days' provisions at half allowance, to begin to-morrow. That the scaling-

ladders and water they intended to send by sea, to be landed near the fort, and the mortar-pieces to take along with them; and Mr. Winslow, writing also for the field-carriages for that purpose, which were in the *Convertine* and *Discovery*, the said ships were presently sent thither.

22*d*, *Sunday*.—Mr. Winslow come on board. We understood General Venables was still on board the rear-admiral, with his wife; had yesterday gone on shore, but presently returned on board.

23*d*, *Monday*.—This day the *Swiftsure*, *Paragon*, *Gloucester*, *Marston-Moor*, and some others, came in and anchored within shot both of the town and Fort Jeronimo, without any disturbance. The *Lion*, and four or five other ships, kept plying still to windward, but in sight. We understood that, about eleven, General Venables went on shore, and that the army would march to-morrow very early, in the cool of the morning. Fort Jeronimo shot at Colin's brigantine, which went in somewhat near; but none took place. Where we rode, the town bore N. by E. about a mile and a half, Fort Jeronimo N.W. by N. one mile, Cape Hina W.S.W.

24*th*, *Tuesday*.—This day, in the afternoon, we understood, that about eleven o'clock the army was ready to march, being all drawn forth; that the officers were in a council of war; and, among other things, it was debated now, whether they should carry the mortar-pieces with them, or dismount them again and send them by water. In the afternoon, the fort made some shot at the *Martin*, who was picqueering within distance, which caused us to make two shot at the fort. We, the *Portland* and *Martin*, reached every shot, but hardly touched the fort. At night, we saw two fires, about two miles distant, N. and S., from one another, which we guessed was our army's: it appeared to be a pretty way upon the land. Letters, at eleven o'clock at night, came from General Venables and the rear-admiral. The general intimated that the army was just on the point to march, and that they in-

tended that evening, or next morning betimes, to be at the landing-place discovered by Capt. Crispin, to the northward of the Fort Jeronimo, in a little sandy bay; and desired, that the signal might be an ensign on the fore-topmast shrouds, to direct them where the place was, and they would give also theirs.

25*th*, *Wednesday*.—All this day, we were in expectation of the army's approach to the landing-place aforesaid; the vessels wherein the water, scaling-ladders, &c. were, riding just against; and the *Gilliflower* (who rode next unto it, and was shot at several times from the town) wore the signal in her topmast shrouds. About three in the afternoon, some of their company appeared nigh the fort; and having discharged a volley, presently we saw haste into the woods again. The fort played into the woods upon them. Several volleys we heard at first to the northward of the fort, but soon it came to the other side, whereby we supposed our men were repulsed. About nine and ten at night, we heard great volleys, but it seemed at a great distance to the southward; and at four in the morning we heard two volleys more.

26*th*, *Thursday*.—We were full of expectation at the growing light, to have seen some signal from them at the bay; but all day we heard, nor saw, any thing of the army. At night, Commissioner Butler came on board from Hina, and informed, that the army was come back to the river Hina, having been shamefully repulsed by a small party of the enemy; our Forlorn, after the two first volleys, having run back, and disordered a great part of the army next unto them; that many of ours were slain, and great number of arms lost.

27*th*, *Friday*.—The Commissioners Winslow and Butler, having a long time consulted with General Penn, were of opinion to take in water, and away presently for Jamaica; which he seemed very resolute to withstand, but rather to make some further attempt on this place.

They three went in the *Selby* to the rear-admiral, to treat further with General Venables; from whence, at night, came order to Captain Poole, to weigh and stand off to sea.

28*th, Saturday.*—We weighed and stood off, and so did most of the ships that were at anchor with us. Ensign Fowler came on board, and informed me that the manner of the last disaster was thus:—

"That 500 (drawn forth of each regiment a like proportion) (who) made the Forlorn, and were commanded by Capt. Butler and Adjutant-Gen. Jackson, came about three o'clock near the fort, which having discharged their guns on them without much damage, they got down on the east side thereof, secure from the great guns; when presently appearing a party of about 100, or 150 at most, they let fly all together in two volleys; and then the enemy charging on them with their lances, they ran in confusion upon the Reformados, being next unto them, and disordered them upon the horse, and they the general's regiment, and all together upon the major-general's, no calling upon or entreaty being able to stay them. At the seamen's regiment it began to stop. The major-general (Haynes) broke forward through the disordered, and endeavoured to make head and withstand the enemy, who had nothing to do but follow and kill, none turning head against him; but not being succoured (though he earnestly called out but for six or seven to beat the enemy back), was overwhelmed with lancers, and slain. Most of the captains and chief officers in the Forlorn were slain. The pursuers cannot be thought to exceed forty, and how they came to be put back he cannot certainly hear; but 'tis said, seven or eight of the seamen put them to a stand.

"But the army being got again into some order, they drew forth Colonel Goodson's, Buller's and Fortescue's regiments, and marched back again to the fort, and lined the hedges all thereabout; the men in pretty good heart again; the mortar-piece planted and ready to play, and the two drakes being

planted, made a shot or two against the fort. Order, in the morning, came to bury the shells, and to draw off the army; so they marched away about sun-rising, having left three or four hundred men dead behind them, and a great number of arms; and (he) excuses not the officers, as well as the soldiers, for their failings in this business; and says, there is no discipline at all, but every one doth what he lists, and officers as bad as the rest. And, about three miles from the fort, they burned the carriage of the mortar-piece. He saith, that they could have made a shift to have held out one day more without water, when they marched off." By after-intelligence, we understood that the Forlorn consisted of 460, drawn forth of several regiments; the van whereof, commanded by Capt. Butler, and the rear by Adjutant-General Jackson, on sight of the party (as before) the van made a sally, and wheeled about handsomely; the rear fired also, and then presently ran, and caused the disorder. It is to be noted, that there was another path which led up into the great way; to which if they had fled, (it crossing the path the army marched in, and to which crossing the army was not yet arrived), they had not put the army in the disorder they did by breaking back the same way upon them. The enemy, who is by none said to have been more than forty, pursued, none turning back till the major-general opposed; against whom a big fellow issued from the fort on horseback, and having heard Haynes call for some of his cheery boys to stand by him, and beat them back, he said, "What make you here, you English dogs? I'll teach you to lead men." "Welcome, brave fellow!" quoth the major-general; and, with nothing but a small walking-sword in his hand, (being only come up to the head of the army to give orders, and having left his man and his armour in the head of his regiment), encountered him; and the adversary, seeing he could do no good, rode a little into the wood, and brought out eight with him, lancers. And Thomas Boys, with an ensign (flag), and one more who was

only left alive, but much wounded, stood by the major-general, and fell with him. Boys, when he was so wounded that he perceived he was slain, stripped off his colours, and wrapping himself in them, fell and died.

The pursuit of the enemy was not far, though it disordered about two regiments; but in less than half an hour it turned back, being stopped by Capt. Watson, and another captain, with four musketteers of the major-general's regiment. The men lost could not be certainly known, only Major Ferguson, Capts. Butler, Hind, Pawle, and Hancock, were slain, and five ensigns lost. The army having kept their ground (after rallying) all night; though not without great apprehensions, and mighty volleys in the night, (when no enemy, but the noise of crabs in the wood molested); in the morning marched off, as aforesaid. And this day, Adjutant-General Jackson was condemned at the council of war for a coward, and had his sword broken over his head, and (was) cashiered; several other officers were cashiered.

29*th*, *Sunday*. — In the morning, General Venables came on board to speak with General Penn, who was not yet returned; but, about noon, he and Commssioner Winslow also came, with the general's wife; and soon after them, Commissioner Butler and Mr. Cary. After dinner, they were close in consultation what to do; and about writing away to the Barbadoes. About four in the afternoon, the general, (and) commissioners Butler and Winslow, went back to the rear-admiral.

30*th*, *Monday*. — This morning, General Penn sent for me into his cabin, and told me, I must draw orders for the *Selby* to ply up to Savona, and thence dispatch away the *Adventure*, dogger, (which was thereabouts with the *Grantham*), with the packet to the governor of Barbadoes, and there victual; and home, then, for England. That afterwards, she and the *Grantham* were to fill what water they could, and come down and ply about the Cape *Cegoa* (three or four

leagues to the windward of Domingo) for the space of four or five weeks after their coming thither, for prevention of any of the ships, which might come hither to us, from going in, and falling into the hands of the enemy; but should direct all that should come, to fall down after us to Jamaica; where, if they found us not, nor any other order, to repair away for England; and they themselves, after having continued in their station for the time limited, were to do the like.

Being not a little surprised at this, I told him, that it would infinitely redound to the dishonour of the nation to go off so, besides what the glory of God, and the reputation of particulars, would suffer hereby; and that it was thought by the most knowing persons, both of the place and condition of the enemy, that I had conversed with, that, notwithstanding these disgraces, the business was very feasible, if but 2000 or 1500 good men were picked out of the 7000 yet remaining; and that the ships might do their part in battering the fort and town, and clear the way for those men to the town; and that all whom I had talked with, belonging to the fleet, were afire to be doing, and rather leave their bones there, than carry off so foul a stain; and particularly instanced Captain Fernes, who was willing to carry in the ships, and would undertake, on his life, to beat them from their guns, with six or eight ships of the Dutch. And further, that there might be a great deal more in the bowels of this disgrace, if we should go off defeated, without seeing an enemy, than could be imagined, as to the peace and welfare of England; in regard the news hereof dispersing itself over Europe, through the Spanish hands, would render the business so hugely ugly, that it might give occasion for every foreign prince to trample on us, and lay hold on the opportunity to bring us low; seeing, before, it was only our reputation had made them stand in some awe, and our growing strength rendered us considerable to be courted by them all, which proceeded not from any love they bore us;

and, who knew but the Hollanders might take occasion, at this our disadvantage, to contend anew for what they had been forced to yield before; especially, considering they might take pretence, from our seizing their ships at Barbadoes and Christopher's?

He told me it was true, that the business was very ugly; that the Lord was displeased with us, for our confidence in our own strength; that he told them as much at Barbadoes, and that he feared it was as much the *Sin at Home* in England, as well as here: that, there, it was thought the business would find little or no resistance, and that the army believed they should meet with no opposition; that the Lord could not but be offended at the taking in such persons (as many were) to the carrying on the work: that, for his own part, he looked least on the dishonour that might be imputed to himself, but was grieved that the glory of God, in the first place, and then that the honour of the nation, should receive such a wound; and that somebody's reputation was so deep in it. As for the further attempt, he told me that he had offered them, several times, to do with the fleet what they could propose or desire. He would undertake to batter and render unserviceable the fort (Jeronimo) in four hours; that he would go in before the town with some ships, and batter that, and scour the walls, and clear the way for them to the gates; nay, that he would land their men on the town quay; not knowing what he should say more to them. But he perceived in them a spirit dismayed, and that the officers were unwilling to trust themselves with such men, and that it were but to offer themselves sacrifice, for their men would never be brought to stand; and that when they should have such way made for them, instead of landing, they would run into holds: that the other day, 500 of them, on sight of a negro or two that came out of the woods, threw down their arms and run away. All this, and much more, he had offered them; and that, indeed, Captain Fernes had promised him to

carry in the ships, and that he had resolved to go in himself in some other ship (holding it not fit to hazard the masts and yards of this), and that he had pitched on all the good gunners of the fleet, and had sent to them hereabouts; but nothing would be hearkened to, but shipping of the men for some place where provisions might be had, lest we all come to starve; and that Jamaica was the place agreed on (but wished me to be private therein): and already they were sending in all the empty casks for water. And further replying to him, that when this came to be known, it would infinitely sadden the spirits of the men of spirit to depart so shamefully, without ever seeing an enemy; and that I was confident, if the question were put, "Who would willingly "go, and die or overcome?" there would be found more than enough to effect the work; and let the rest, who would not fight, serve them, some in carrying water, provisions, ammunition, and others as pioneers, to cut the wood and bushes before them; he said, they would hearken to nothing but coming on board; and that General Venables' business of coming on board yesterday, was only to desire him to stand by them, and not take off the sea-regiment, (from which he acknowledged the preservation of the whole army from being destroyed), before the others, having understood there was some such intent; to which he satisfied him, and promised to stand by them.

I said, moreover, that Jamaica peradventure might make more resistance than imagined; presuming that, ere this, that and all the Indies understood of our being here, and so are fortifying themselves all they can; and they will be the more encouraged, when they shall understand how shamefully we have been baffled at this place: and if we carry it, there will be little hopes of keeping it, without a constant and considerable fleet, in regard its situation, being in the heart of the Spaniards, they will easily from this place, Cuba, Porto Rico, Cartagena, and all along the Main, be able to invade it;

and having many landing-places about the island, which cannot be guarded, soon dispossess us thereof again. He answered, the Spaniards was not in such a condition. At length, perceiving the resolution was established, I took my leave, and drew up the orders as he had commanded.

May 1*st, Tuesday.* — In the morning, General Venables, with Vice-Admiral Goodson, came on board, and after dinner, returned again; in the evening, Mr. Winslow came on board.

2*d, Wednesday.*— General Penn ordered me to write three letters, to General Venables, (the) Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral, all to this effect.

"SIR, "May the 2d, 1655.

"The wet weather which we have had, is feared by those best acquainted with the seasons in these parts to be the beginner of the rainy time of the year, which usually comes about this month; which season continues for some time, with much wet, sudden gusts of wind, and then calmy; very bad weather for ships, and may be very destructive to a fleet in such a condition as ours is. I therefore do desire, that if you perceive no further attempt is to be made by the army on this place (which will be a great grief, and nothing less to those in England), and that they must be shipped off, that it be done with all speed; and that we be not made more unhappy through delays. Pray give me a word in answer. I remain, &c.

"W. P.

"To Vice-Admiral Goodson, these."

Another of the same tenor to the rear-admiral; only a postscript, "That as soon as they get all things ready, they would make sail; whereby we may know the same, and follow them."

The two latter he signed, and bid me seal them up; and bring him the other, which he seemed unwilling to send,

for that he would put it up in his pocket, and forget it, &c.: so that I cannot tell whether it went with the others or not. This evening, the orders (before said) were delivered the captain of the *Selby;* and Richard Pin (who came from Barbadoes as an extraordinary pilot, in the rear-admiral,) was paid off, and sent in the *Selby* to be put on board the dogger that was to be dispatched with the commissioners' packet to the governor of Barbadoes; with an order, to be lodged with him, from General Penn to the commanders of the States' ships as might touch there, to come down with the stores to Jamaica; where if they found us not, to sail away for England.

3*d*, *Thursday.*—This morning letters came from the vice-admiral, certifying that the army was nigh all shipped; that Col. Fortescue's regiment was to be shipped last; and that they were like to leave behind them much water-casks. A letter was then sent away to the *Arms of Holland*, to weigh and make sail, and advertise the *Hound*, and the other ships at anchor still with him off the fort, to do the same; and they should find us, in the morning, off Hina Bay. A little before dinner, going in with this letter into the great cabin, I found Mr. Cary endeavouring to clear himself, unto General Penn and Mr. Winslow, of some words he had uttered among the ship's company, touching the non-proffer to batter the fort from the ships; upon which occasion General Penn, after having reproved him, said, that it was well known to others, that the same and much more was proffered, and Mr. Winslow could tell him so much. Whereupon Mr. Winslow, in somewhat a colder tone than usual, said, "I, I: that and much more was proffered, but they held it not fit to demolish the fort; and General Venables said, that it would stand them in great stead for an hospital for the sick and wounded, whilst they lay before the town; and that they could take it in two hours when they pleased."

4*th*, *Friday.*—This morning the fleet met off Hina, five

or six leagues to the south of it, and the officers of army and fleet came on board. With the first, General Penn and the commissioners were a good while; and, after they had done, General Penn sent for the latter, whom he acquainted of the island of Jamaica to be the place agreed on for our next attempt, and that we were to sail directly thither: and having given them some directions in writing, touching the mustering the men, taking account of the arms and accommodation of the soldiers, and fixing their arms, and what ammunition and victuals should be given them at landing, he dismissed them. In these directions it was given, that the soldiers should have on board the same allowance in all respects as the seamen, as well those in the prizes as the other ships; that, throughout the fleet, every ten men should have a pint[1] of brandy a-day; that refractory persons should be brought to punishment by their own officers; that they should have ammunition as before, and three days' victuals at landing, not accounting the day they landed on; and lastly, that all boats should be speedily repaired.

At a Council of War, May the 4th, 1655.

"1. To know what seamen, soldiers, and water, is aboard every ship.

"2. To give one pint of brandy to every ten men.

"3. To fix all the soldiers' arms, with all speed.

"4. To return an account, how many men and arms were sent ashore, and how many returned.

"5. To get all boats mended, with all speed.

"6. To let them know where we intend, if the Lord please.

"7. That all ships that have manned prizes, take care that the soldiers, so well as the seamen, want nothing, and

[1] I suspect that the *pint*, at that time, intended the French *pinte*, or *quart*.

that they have the same allowance as seamen; and that all care be taken to preserve love among them; and that all refractory persons, of either sort, be by their own officers brought to condign punishment, without partiality.

"8. That all the stewards be strictly required to attend the steward-general, with an exact account of their victuals on board.

"9. That care be taken for a supply of ammunition, as before.

"10. That the soldiers have three days' victuals at landing, not reckoning the day they land.

"11. That every ship take in the officers and soldiers she brought."

The evening, General Penn told me; that he had again urged another attempt, before quitting this place. He offered to them, to stand off to sea, for refreshing the soldiers, three or four days on board; and by that time, the Spaniards, he made account, would be again dispersed to their several homes, and then to come in suddenly upon them; he being willing to do any thing with the ships that they could desire; but they would not hearken hereunto. This evening we set sail, and stood off the land all night, S. The next day we stood westward, and kept between S.W. and N.W. Mr. Winslow began to grow bad in health, having complained a day or two before; taking conceit (as his man affirms) at the disgrace of the army on Hispaniola, to whom he told, it had broken his heart. Major-General Fortescue told me this day, on some discourse, that the business of battering he had never heard proffered till yesterday, when it was too late.

7th, Monday.—This day was kept a fast on board us; and Mr. Winslow, having come up, fell very ill; and being carried down in the afternoon to his own cabin, deceased in the evening. General Venables having, ever since the 1st March, been unhealthy, and ever since his last coming on

board been sickly, and taking physic, grew better now, and came abroad more cheerful than before. We came this day nigh enough of Hispaniola to be discerned; and so continued till we were past it, which was the next day.

8*th*, *Tuesday*.—The west part of the island, past ten leagues of Domingo, comes all hilly, high land; all the coast till then being low, and almost even; and, towards the very westernmost part of it, 'tis very high land. This morning, Mr. Winslow, being put into a coffin, was heaved into the sea; and had the solemnity of forty pieces of ordnance; eighteen from us, twelve from the vice-admiral, and ten from the rear-admiral.

9*th*, *Wednesday*.—This day we came in sight of Jamaica, being high land. A council of officers was called. By the land-officers it was ordered, that every lieutenant or officer bringing up the rear, should kill any person whatsoever that should turn and quit his colours without leave, in time of service. The sea-officers had several directions given them, as to victuals, brandy, &c. in order to the landing of the army. Colonel Clark, who succeeded in Major-General Haynes' regiment, and formerly his lieutenant-colonel, deceased this day, on board the *Convertine*, of a fever caused by two wounds received in the last business at Hispaniola.

10*th*, *Thursday*.—This day, about eleven, we came to an anchor in the harbour of Jamaica with the fleet; except the *Laurel*, who plied without the harbour. The *Martin*, with the small vessels, were sent in, about the point at the bottom of the main harbour, within which, to the westward, the men were to be landed. The Spaniard had made a fort at the water-side, and kept playing his guns with the *Martin*, till he saw the boats come off, with the regiments first appointed to land (viz. Fortescue's, Buller's, and Carter's), with a resolution to land, notwithstanding their fort; and then quitting it, run towards the town, leaving fourteen guns, and two little vessels in the channel.

11*th*, *Friday*.—At two in the morning, the remainder of the army landed, and at night, we heard they had possession of the town Jamaica, four miles up from the landing-place, without any resistance in their march or entry; the inhabitants having all quitted it, and carried away all they could with them. A commanded party was presently, without any stop, sent out after them. Colonel Clark was carried ashore, and buried; after two volleys ashore, he had ten guns from us, and six from the *Convertine*.

12*th*, *Saturday*.—This day we understood, by letters from General Venables, that they had possession of the town, without opposition; the enemy having left a considerable fort, about half a mile from the town, with six or seven guns in it. He writ, that some Spaniards were already come in to treat, whom he entertained civilly; and that they offered, if we would keep in the soldiers and seamen from straggling into the country, they would supply both fleet and army with beef and other provisions. Notwithstanding, in regard the issue of the treaty might be incertain, he and Captain Butler writ for three days' supply of bread and oatmeal, and recruits of match, powder, and bullets, which was accordingly sent unto them; and we received from them seven cows for the fleet.

To the Right Hon. General Robert Venables.

"Sir,

"I am glad to understand that the Lord hath so soon, and so easily, given you possession of the town. According to your desire, I have sent you six thousand of bread, besides three days' oatmeal, ten barrels of powder, 1200lb. of bullet, and seventy skeins of match; and have given order to Mr. Crane about the wine. I earnestly desire you to give order, that the match and bullet be well husbanded, for that our stores are very much exhausted; and our condition in point

of bread being well known to you, I beseech you think of some way of supplying the army with cassada, of which, I am informed, good quantities may be had; for we are not able to spare much more biscuit, in continue of the fleet: likewise, that the bags may be carefully preserved; for, had not these by accident been found on board one of the ships, we should not have known how to send up this bread. I have inquired in the fleet for the smiths and carpenters, and am told they are all on shore, and may be found out in the army. I have thought fit to lodge at the block-house some steel and iron for you, notwithstanding it is not mentioned. Pray give present order for the receiving the sick and wounded at the block-house; where, on notice from you, they shall be landed. It will be much better for them (besides what respects the health of the fleet) that they be on shore. There hath been, and for the future shall be, taken all care for hindering seamen's rambling into the country. I kindly return my thanks for the relief you are pleased to send the fleet; as also for the parrot for myself. Mr. Cary will send you the paper. Your lady is well, and will give you account thereof herself. Pray present my service to the major-general, Captain Butler, and your officers, and be pleased to take it yourself from,

" Sir, &c.

" W. P.

" May the 12th, 1655.

" I have inquired after the pioneers' tools, and have asked Mr. Crane also about them; but I cannot understand yet, of any brought off from Hispaniola; but I will make further inquiry."

13*th, Sunday.*—This day, Captain Mills of the *Falmouth* died, and the next day was buried with the usual solemnity of guns; and in the evening, General Penn received a letter

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from General Venables, desiring him to afford them his company, for that they could not proceed in their treaty with the Dons without him, being but two commissioners. He returned answer, that on Tuesday he would be with them at the town; and in the mean time, all soldiers and seamen were prohibited killing any cattle or fowl, for that the Spaniards promised to send provisions in.

14*th, Monday.*—This day, they continued treating with the Spaniards in the town; and General Penn went among the ships that were on the careen.

15*th, Tuesday.*—In the morning, General Penn went ashore; having a commanded party of seamen armed, led by Captain Kirby, for his guard, and about a score also of us, to attend him with arms. We marched with him to the town (he, and the vice-admiral, and Captain Blagg, having their horses), which is distant from the landing-place about five miles. The landing-places are two, and are only banks supported with stakes, a matter of twenty yards long towards the water; all the rest being trees and bushes, among which can be no good going ashore. At the more eastward, where we landed, we saw the ordnance the Spaniards left; the army having landed at the other, within that to the westward. A pretty parcel of ground is cleared within the landing-places. About a furlong and a half thence, the way leads into the wood, which continues till within a quarter of a mile of the town; all the way being even, without hills, and a fair path for eight to march abreast. At the issuing out of the wood begins the Savanna, which stretches about, and is very fair and plain to the westward of the town; so that I deemed, there might be room enough for 50,000 men to draw up in battalia. The town stands on almost plain ground; but a little inclining, towards the east, for the better fall of the rains down into the river, which is very shallow, and runs a pretty distance below the town, and empties itself into the arm of sea that branches out of the harbour to the westward: there being

another arm within the harbour, where the fleet rode, (which is very safe, and land-locked), to the eastward, that runs up at least three leagues; which Capt. Fernes, who went to sound it, says, is capable of a thousand ships, and at least five fathom water all along, and hath very good fresh water close by the shore in any place shall be digged; there being found a well or two; and a house, with three guns planted on a bank, for securing a frigate which they were building there, but at the approach of our men they run away, and left their things behind them. The town, I was told, (and conceive it so may be), contains 400 houses, scatteringly built, and every house apart by itself, a certain distance from any other; however, in most places, standing indifferently in rank, so that it may be fancied into streets. The buildings all (except two or three houses that have one or two rooms overhead) are built very low, having not rooms overhead; which, and their standing so by themselves, is because of the great winds and rains that sometimes happen. The further description see on my papers.

This day, the Spaniards commissioned by the governor were angrily told by the major-general, Fortescue, (Mr. Gage[1] interpreting), that the general took it very ill at their hands, that the governor was not come in, according as they had undertaken he should do the night before; and that his excellency was resolved to fetch him in with his own men, and be no longer delayed nor deluded by them. They desired leave to go and persuade him to come, and to hasten him, desiring also safe-conduct for his person, both which were denied: the latter, because they had never promised any such thing, and that the governor's letter to the general, the day before, signified so much,—"That safe-conduct or no safe-conduct granted, he would come in, and refer all, casting

[1] A Roman Catholic priest, whose reports to Cromwell of the Spanish possessions in America, first prompted this expedition.

himself on the worth of his excellency:" the other liberty was denied them, though they urged it as being commissioners, in regard they had yesterday obliged themselves for the governor's coming in, and till then they looked upon them as commissioners; but, since the said engagement, as hostages.

16*th, Wednesday.*—The general (Penn), after dinner, having long considered the articles, and left his approbation with the other commissioners, returned to the fleet; General Venables, a-horseback, bringing him some part of the way.

17*th, Thursday.*—The Spaniards signed the articles; at night, Gen. Venables came on board, with Capt. Butler.

18*th, Friday.*—Colonel Dayly came on board, with a paper from the council of officers of the army, touching what ships they desired to stay here, as only necessary for carrying on the business; and the rest might be disposed of, as the general should see cause. Those desired to stay, were all the English frigates; viz. *Torrington, Marston, Laurel, Portland, Dover, Grantham, Selby,* and *Martin,* with the *Arms of Holland, Hound,* and *Falmouth.*

19*th, Saturday.*—Two of the store-ships arrived, with arms, mortar-pieces, &c., and about seventy or eighty thousand weight of biscuit. They came out of the river the 29th of January; staid five weeks at the Isle of Wight for a wind; four days at Stokes' bay; a week at Barbadoes; a week plying up to Domingo (having overshot the place), and so hither. By them, we understood the dissolution of the parliament. This night news came on board, of the Spaniards standing in defiance of the forces, and (that they) contemned the articles agreed on; that they had removed themselves further into the country; made what strength they could; and had sent their wives and children away before them. Some biscuit and ammunition being desired, was sent to the army.

21*st, Monday.*—This day, four afternoon, Gen. Venables went ashore.

22*d, Tuesday.*—Colonel Buller, with a commanded party

of 1500, was this morning sent out into the country after the enemy; and another party, of 700, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Ward, were embarked to be transported to Macaire, and there landed, which is about six leagues to leeward, and within two or three miles where they understood the enemy's body lay.

To the Right Hon. General Robert Venables, these.

"SIR,

"Commissary Daniel hath been with me, for a supply of bread for the use of the army. I am glad yourself saw, with how much difficulty bags were procured the last time. The steward-general is now sent from ship to ship, throughout the fleet, to see what may be gathered up; which being got in, I shall send the bread desired. But, that we may not be put to these straits every time you have occasion, I have ordered new bags to be made, so many as conveniently we can; the which shall have your particular mark upon them, and be wholly appropriate to your use. Therefore, I desire you to appoint some person that may particularly take charge thereof, that your occasions may not be prejudiced nor retarded for want thereof in the future. And, in regard some mistake or doubt there is, that the full proportion of bread was not sent you the last time, I am resolved, that whatever provisions shall hereafter be sent, be seen weighed and measured by some land-officer whom you shall please to appoint for that purpose, for the avoiding all errors or disputes therein for the future. Yesterday, some of the sea-men were very unhandsomely treated by the soldiers of the guard at the landing-place, some of whom (as I am informed by persons of credit) were so rudely beaten and abused, that 'tis a doubt whether they will recover; and only, because they could not carry some persons on board the ships, at the same time when they were employed in carrying officers and soldiers with their

goods on shore; and the commander of the said guard gently permitting the said abuse to be committed. Wherefore, for the taking away all such occasions (as near as may be) for time to come, I think fit, and accordingly shall lodge at the landing-place some certain boats, wholly to be employed in the service of the soldiers; which I desire you will cause to be manned out of your own numbers, knowing there are many in the army well enough acquainted with the sea, and management of boats; and as to any service of landing of provisions, or the like, upon your note of the quantity and quality, it shall be answered. And, for the more orderly sending ashore the goods and necessaries belonging to the officers and soldiers which remain on board the fleet, if you think fit that a set time be appointed to land them, and some officers to receive the same, they shall be put ashore at the landing-place, and delivered unto them.

"Sir, your very humble servant,

"W. P.

"My humble service to the major-general, and your other officers.

"May 22d, 1655."

24th, Thursday.—This morning, the vessels, with the said soldiers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ward's command, set sail; and afterwards, a council of war was called, where it was considered what was best to do with the fleet.

And, 1st. in regard so many mouths did spend provisions apace, and no assurance or certainty of any other's arrival: 2dly. that we hear not of any considerable naval strength in these parts, or a-coming, to engage the whole fleet: 3dly. in that the army hath no further occasion at present of the assistance of so many ships, being not upon thoughts of any new and considerable attempt elsewhere: 4thly. in regard that the army hath signified their desire to have only re-

maining some frigates and other vessels: 5thly. that much provision may be left by those that go: 6thly. that if all should stay, and no speedy supplies, all must be enforced speedily to return home: 7thly. that it will be an encouragement to others to come for these parts, when they shall see some return so soon, and not kept still out: 8thly. that, in the fleet is a considerable part of the nation's strength by sea; and, who knew but the enemies, both without and within, might lay hold of this opportunity of our absence, to rise, and make some attempts at home, especially when they shall understand the sad news of Hispaniola: upon these, and some other considerations, it was thought meet, and so resolved, at the council of war:

1. That a part of the fleet should return home; taking with them six weeks' full allowance of provisions, and leaving the rest.

2. That the general of the navy and rear-admiral, in the ships *Swiftsure* and *Paragon* (with most of the Flemish ships) should return for England.

Then it was referred to the vice-admiral, rear-admiral, Captains Blake, Blagg, and Saunders, to consider what ships should go, and what stay; who, after dinner, made report, that it was their opinion these should be sent home:

Swiftsure,	*Paragon,*	*Indian,*
Mathias,	*Lion,*	*Convertine,*
Discovery,	*Bear,*	*Catherine,*
Gold Cock,	*Heart's-ease,*	*Tulip,*
Rosebush,	*Cardiff,*	*Westergatt,*
Sampson,	*Marigold,*	*Gilliflower.*
Half-moon,		

The *Cardiff* to go presently away with the commissioners' letters for England; and (that) the *Adam and Eve*, *Falcon* fly-boat, and *Golden Falcon*, should go to New England for provisions for the fleet that stays, and (for the) army: and that these (following) should stay here:

Torrington,	*Portland,*	*Martin,*
Gloucester,	*Dover,*	*Arms of Holland,*
Marston-Moor,	*Selby,*	*Hound,*
Laurel,	*Grantham,*	*Falmouth.*

That the three last should be made men-of-war, and have,

	Guns.	Men.
The Arms of Holland	28	100
Hound	26	90
Falmouth	26	90

which was all assented to by the council of war. Then the general told them, the ships that were to go home should, with all speed, fit themselves; and that, after Monday se'nnight (4th July), the six weeks' allowance for their carrying home should begin. Then the general declared, that he did intend to send speedily two ships for Caymannos, for that he understood two or three small Frenchmen were there, turtling; and (that he) had pitched on the *Arms of Holland* and *Falmouth*, and wished the commanders to make ready with all haste. Further, that he was sending away the *Martin* over to Carthagena, for intelligence what shipping there was, and so return; which, in the evening, was accordingly sent away. Some captains expressed their desire to the general, afterwards, for going home, notwithstanding the ships they commanded staid here; viz. rear-admiral Captain Crispin, (of the *Laurel*), C. Newbury, and C. Story.

The commissioners signed an appointment to Major-General Fortescue, to take the command of the army in case of General Venables' death.[1]

25th, Friday.—This evening happened the sad accident of fire on board the *Discovery*, occasioned ('tis said) by drawing off brandy in or near the steward's room. The liquor took flame, and gained so on, that, notwithstanding many boats, all hands, and buckets, were employed, the

[1] Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 581: the appointment as given in Thurloe, has only Penn's signature.

smoke was so thick all over the hold, (that) their helps did little more than perhaps a little retard the violence of the fire; which, about an hour after its beginning, broke out at the ports, and gained above decks abaft. It instantly thence run and grew all in a flame to the mainmast, and so proceeded burning forward on till midnight; when, burning down to the powder-room under the forecastle, she blew up with a very terrible blow, having in her 120 barrels of powder; but God, in His goodness, carried the violence of that to landward, where pieces of timber, cordage, and one bow-anchor, were carried; and, by the burning timbers, the wood was set on fire, and continued burning the next day. We were the nighest ship to her, and not in a little fear of her driving on board us; but, through mercy, she drove to the eastward of us. In her, all was lost; and this very day were put on board her most of this ship's (*Swiftsure*) provisions of beef, pork, peas, oatmeal, flour, rice, &c. and twenty-four of our best guns; twenty of them demy cannon, and four whole culverins, even all our lower tier. *O pavor! O fortitudo!*

June 6th, Wednesday.

To his Highness the Lord Protector.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

"By my former from Barbadoes, (which I hope your highness hath long since received), I gave you an account of the condition the fleet was then in; therefore, not to mispend your time in saying over that again, I shall only proceed from that time.

"On the last of March, we set sail from that place; and, having passed by many of the Carribee Islands, on the 6th of April we came to Christopher's, where, without anchoring, we received into our company the *Marston Moor* and *Selby*, with the regiment raised there and on Mevis, which were

shipped in some foreign vessels they had seized on among the islands, for trading contrary to the law. Thence passing forward, we came in sight of Santa Luz (*Cruz?*), Porto Rico, and some other islands, and, on the 13th, arrived before St. Domingo; where, General Venables, with most part of the army, going away presently to leeward, to land, I used my endeavours, with the remainder of the fleet, to amuse the enemy, and divert him from sending out forces from the city to obstruct their going on shore. The place always intended for their landing being Hina Bay, some six or seven miles west from the town, they could not approach unto it; (being a lee shore, and very full of rocks, and the breeze being that day very great and the sea much grown); so that they were necessitated to sail down further to leeward unto the next place, called Point Nicayo, which was more safe, but at least eight leagues distant from Domingo; where all landed the next day, without opposition.

"Fifteen hundred of the army, viz. Colonel Buller's regiment and half of Colonel Holdip's, staid behind with the fleet, being appointed (by the misinformation of our pilots) to land two or three miles to the eastward of the town; but having searched the coast, and found it all along very steep and rocky, and altogether impossible to land on, in less distance than twelve miles, Mr. Winslow and myself (Captain Butler having gone along with the general) did think fit to land them at Hina (the sea being then more calm), which accordingly, on the 15th, was effected without any resistance; to which place we made account the army by that time was arrived, it being in their way to the town.

"I am not able to give your highness any account of what passed on the land, but presume General Venables (whom it properly concerns) will fully do it.

"We might there, in great characters, read the hand of the Lord to be gone forth against us, as too unworthy instruments for His service; and, therefore, it was resolved by the

officers of the army, and at last assented to by the commissioners, to re-ship them, and attempt this place; whither being come, on the 10th of May, the army landed, and became masters of the town without opposition: and immediately after we had brought the fleet into convenient berths in the harbour (which indeed is a very gallant and safe one for riding in all winds), we went about careening our frigate, which now is finished. On the 19th, the *William* and *Recovery*, two of our store-ships, arrived.

"The commissioners finding the army wholly unfit for making any attempt for some considerable time, and, consequently, that the heavier-sailing ships (which are most of our number) would till then be of no use, and our provisions be much exhausted by so many mouths more than ever was laid in for (the soldiers landed at Hispaniola being, besides the sea-regiment, at least 8000), they thought it most advantage for the service to send away all the said heavy sailers; lest, by keeping them here, they should in a short time be necessitated to send home all together, and leave the coast destitute. Whereas, by sending them home, and taking out all the provisions they can spare, they will enable the frigates (which make a smart squadron) to continue here for some months. They also have thought requisite to send three ships to New England, for such provisions for the fleet and army as they shall be able there to procure; which ships are also ready to sail.

"I must next acquaint your highness of a heavy disaster befallen us on the 25th, in the evening; which is, that by the carelessness of a fellow's drawing of brandy, by a candle, in the *Discovery*, the ship took fire; and the flame of the oil and brandy grew suddenly so impetuous, that though all aid was sent, and endeavours were used, she could not be preserved from consuming. That very day, she had received out of this ship most of our provisions and all our lower tier of ordnance, which was all lost in her. But we are in hopes to

recover again speedily all the guns, having found out the hull of the ship, and already gotten up six of them.

"On the 4th instant, arrived the *Augustine* and *Edward*, who, having taken out part of the lading of the *Morning Star*, left her at Barbadoes; the remainder of the goods, the governor will send down shortly in a prize-ship, as he signifies by letter.

"The Lord hath been pleased to visit both fleet and army with sickness, which hath carried off many officers and others. The fever and flux have been so general, that 'tis rare to find a man that hath escaped either one or both of them. By the former, it pleased Him to call away Mr. Winslow on the 6th of May; and the number of those that at this present labour under those diseases, is very sad to consider: but I hope He will turn again unto us, with healing and bindings up, and strengthen our hearts to carry on His work; which is greatly desired and prayed for, by

"Your highness's most humble
and faithful servant,
"W. P.

"On board the *Swiftsure*, Jamaica,
the 6th of June, 1655."

June 21st, Thursday.

A Commission and Instructions given to Vice-Admiral Goodson, to command the Fleet remaining at Jamaica.

"William Penn, Esq. one of the Admirals and Generals of the Fleet of the Commonwealth of England,

"To Captain William Goodson appointed Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of a Squadron of the said Commonwealth's Ships, ordered to remain in America.

"Whereas his highness, by letters patent, dated at Westminster, the 9th of December, 1654, for several considerations

him thereunto moving, hath been pleased, by and with the advice and consent of his council, to commit the conduct and command in chief of the fleet and ships employed in this expedition into America unto me, and hath thereby given me power and authority to give commissions to all officers as places respectively should be vacant by death, or otherwise; and to exercise martial law, according to (the) rules and articles appointed for government of the States' fleets, and the general and known customs of the sea; and also to dispose of this fleet as might be most advantageous to the public, by advice of his highness's commissioners in a council of war: and forasmuch as I have, by the advice of the above named, ordered a great part of this said fleet to go presently home for England; and that (by advice above said) the ships *Torrington*, *Marston Moor*, *Gloucester*, and several others, as by a list thereof, do continue in these parts of America for the service of his highness, till further order: I have, for many reasons to me well known, and for the trust and confidence I have of your abilities and faithfulness, thought fit, and do hereby accordingly nominate, constitute, and appoint you, Vice-Admiral Goodson, to be commander-in-chief of the said squadron of ships to be continued out in these parts; and do hereby authorise and empower you to order, manage, and command the same; and to do, execute, and perform therein all things and matters in as full and ample manner as if I myself were present: hereby willing and requiring all commanders of, or belonging to, the said remaining squadron, or such as shall hereafter come and be joined thereunto, to observe, follow, and obey you in all things relating to the fleet, for the good of the service, as ought to be done to myself, until further orders. And for your better direction in the ordering and managing of the trust committed to you, you are to observe and follow the directions and instructions herewith delivered unto you, as also such further orders and instructions as you shall here-

after receive from his highness, or others authorised thereunto.

"21st June, 1655."

"*Instructions to Captain W. Goodson, appointed, &c.*

"Whereas, by a commission on that behalf, you are constituted admiral and commander-in-chief of the squadron of ships which are to stay for the assistance of this army, and advancement of his highness's service in America, you are to follow and observe these instructions following:

"1. You are to take into your charge and command the squadron hereafter particularly to be mentioned, and all other ships hereafter following, and arriving in these parts; unless some other be commissioned for the same, by superiors.

"2. You shall use your best endeavours (by all opportunities presenting) to seize, surprise, and take all ships and vessels belonging to the King of Spain, or any of his subjects in America, or of any other who shall assist or aid him, or shall be rebels or enemies to this commonwealth, together with the tackle, apparel, ordnance, and ammunition, and all and singular the goods, wares, merchandises, and moneys; and, in case of resistance, to sink, burn, and destroy all such ships and vessels; and (shall) require all persons under your command to do the same.

"3. You shall take care that such goods, ships, moneys, wares, and merchandises, which you shall take and seize upon, by virtue of the power given unto you by these instructions, be preserved without embezzlement, and delivered to his highness's commissioners, that so they may come in account to the state.

"4. When you shall seize or take any purchase,[1] and bring in the same where the commissioners appointed by his

[1] See note to vol. i. p. 169.

highness are, that you desire the said commissioners to appoint some able, trusty person, or persons, to join with the like which you shall choose, and that the said persons so appointed do set a due valuation and appraisement of ship and goods: and when you deliver up the said prize or prizes by the commissioners' order, you are to take a receipt for the full of what you shall so deliver, that the seamen may be satisfied in how much they may expect shares from the state.

"5. And whereas divers people of this commonwealth have sustained, and do sustain daily, great damages, by having their ships and goods seized, pillaged, and surprised by divers French ships, and Frenchmen subject to the King of France; and although redress hath been fairly sought, yet none can be obtained; you shall, therefore, by virtue of his highness's instructions to myself, in reference hereunto, seize, arrest, surprise, and detain, and in case of resistance, sink, burn, and destroy all such ships and vessels of the French king, or any of his subjects, which you shall meet with, together with their tackle, apparel, ordnance, and ammunition, and all and singular the goods, moneys, wares, merchandises therein, wheresoever the same shall meet with you on the seas; and the same so seized, arrested, or surprised, (you) shall secure without any manner of wasting or embezzlement of any part thereof, and shall deliver the same to the commissioners, as is above expressed.

"6. And whereas there is an act of parliament, of the 3d of October, 1650, entitled, 'An act prohibiting trade with the Barbadoes, Virginia, Bermudas, and Antigo;' which was seconded by his highness's special command to myself, to seize, surprise, and take, and in case of resistance to sink, burn, and destroy all ships and vessels belonging to any foreign nation whatsoever, which shall come to trade in, or traffic with, or that you shall find coming from, any of the English plantations in America, or any islands, ports, or

places thereof, which are planted by, and are in possession of, the people of the commonwealth of England, without license first had and obtained from the supreme authority of the commonwealth, or those empowered by it thereunto; yourself is desired to take notice of this article, and (to) issue out orders to all ships of war that shall come, (as I have done to those which are already come,) to the same effect.

" 7. You shall take care to preserve the honour, jurisdiction, territories, and people of this commonwealth within the extent of your employment; and, in all places where you shall sail, endeavour as much as in you lieth, that no nation or people intrude hereupon, or injure any of them.

" 8. You shall, in this employment, take care that all instructions given to you, and other flag-commanders, as to matter of discipline, and other things relating to the well-ordering and managing of a fleet, be put in execution, according to the laws of war and ordinances of the sea.

" 9. And you have hereby further power allowed you, that upon just grounds, and by consent and approbation of a council of war, you may suspend any captain from his employment; and also give commissions or warrants for places in any of the ships under your command, as they may happen to become vacant by death, or otherwise.

" 10. You shall wear the jack-flag upon the maintop-mast head during your continuance in the service aforesaid.

" 11. You shall be careful to give notice to his highness, the commissioners of the admiralty, and generals of the fleet, and communicate intelligence of all your proceedings, as frequently as you can; that you may receive further directions, as there may be occasion.

" 12. So long as you shall continue upon this employment at this place, you are to receive direction from his highness's commissioners, and by all opportunities advise with them, touching the improvement of your time and benefit of the service; and in case of their absence, then

to govern your more eminent affairs by advice of a council of war.

" 13. You shall herewith receive about £1000 cash, which you are to manage, as thriftily as you may, upon contingencies; and when you issue order for the payment of any part thereof, cause some principal commander in the squadron to sign together with you: and so (in case of mortality) let all other bills be signed. You shall also receive a sum of money to pay the seamen remaining with you, for their short allowance for the time past: all which money is in pieces of eight, which you are to issue out and pay at the rate of sterling a-piece.

" 14. You shall constantly, as may be, keep sea with so many of the fleet as you can; and that, in such places where you may most infest and annoy the enemy, and otherwise advance the service required by his highness.

" 15. That, by all means, and upon all occasions, you do effectually assist, supply, and succour the army, to the best of your power.

" 16. And whereas there are large stores of provisions, of ammunition, and other things arrived from England for this army, and they have no conveniency of store-houses to receive it ashore, it is, by order of the commissioners, put aboard several prizes within this harbour, till they can make provisions to receive it on land: and for that the said army have as yet raised no fortification to defend and secure the harbour, it is desired by General Venables (and I pray you order it accordingly) that two ships always, in the absence of the rest, may be left as a guard for it, until such time as they, by fortification of the port, or otherwise, shall further secure it.

" 17. And whereas there are several stores taken out of those ships that go first home, and left here for the supply of those that stay with you; you are, therefore, to take punctual care that the same be issued and disposed to such as

shall most stand in need of it; and the receipt for it be duly taken, that the state, by neglect of such care, be not endamaged.

"18. And whatsoever you shall deliver out of any ship under your command, for the use of the army, cause receipt to be carefully taken for the same; that there may be a due charge laid upon the officers which receive it.

"19. And whereas (as it is before mentioned) there is a sum of money left in your hands to pay for the victuals which have been gained to the state by men's going to short allowance; you are to cause the certificates (of the just number of men borne, and quantity of victuals saved to the state of every ship under your command) to be signed jointly by the respective commander, master, steward, and cheque; and upon payment of the said short-allowance-money, you are to cause two, at the least, (of the above-said officers,) to firm the receipt, according to the order I have formerly issued out to the whole fleet on that behalf.

"20. And whereas all particulars cannot be foreseen, nor positive instructions for such emergencies be before given, but that many things must be left to your prudent and discreet management, as occasions may arise upon the place, or from time to time fall out, you are, therefore, upon all such accidents relating to your charge, to use your best circumspection; and, by advice, either with the said commissioners or your council of war, as occasion may be, to order and dispose of the said fleet, and the ships under your command, as may be most advantageous for the public, and for obtaining the ends for which this fleet was sent forth: making it your special care, in the discharge of the trust committed unto you, that the commonwealth receive no detriment.

"21st June, 1655."

To Major-General Fortescue.

"SIR,

"It is my request, and so far as my authority may allow me, I require you, that Commissioner Butler be acquainted with all transactions of your affairs; that, from time to time, he may be the better able to give his highness an account of all passages in these parts: likewise, he being the only commissioner that continues here, I desire you would not dispose of the treasury-stores, prizes, or prize-goods, without his knowledge and consent; his highness reposing such confidence in his faithfulness: and, that accounts be carefully and justly kept, to the end his highness be not endamaged. Thus far I thought fit to impart my desires, nothing diffident of your willing compliance to the same; because, only things just and reasonable shall ever be desired by,

"Sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"June 25, 1655, at Jamaica."

I must here interrupt the journal, to introduce III., General Venables' Letters to General Montagu, of the 28th of February and 26th of May.

General Venables to General Montagu.

"SIR,

"After a most merciful and good hand of God with us at sea, the 29th last, we came to an anchor in Carlisle Bay. The next day we landed, and fell about our work; but presently, of ourselves, and privately by friends, were assured (which since we find true) that all the inhabitants were against our design, as destructive to them; and that they

would not, really and cordially, assist us. All the promises made us in England, of men, provision, and arms, we find to be but promises. I do not know that we have raised 3000, and not arms for 1300 of them. Mr. Noel's 1500 arms are found to be but 190. We did not doubt, but my lord and his council had proceeded and grounded their resolves upon greater certainties than we can yet discern, by any one particular, of all that was taken as most certain; the confidence of which did cause us, with great assurance, to rest satisfied with what was assured us we should find here. Only the country hath raised sixty horse in a troop for us.

" We cannot expect to be relieved from hence with provisions, they buying all their own; and had we not found some sent hither by the victuallers of the navy, I know not how we should have subsisted when gone hence. We have seized some Dutch vessels which we found here, who refuse to give us any invoices or bills of lading, they having sold almost all their goods, and landed them before we came; and the inhabitants will not discover to whom those goods are sold; only, since we came, a Dutchman came in with 246 negroes, whom we have sold for £5162; and another vessel with some asses, about twenty-two or twenty-three, not yet sold, which will much exceed all the other seizures.

" Whatsoever is not to be gotten here, must be sent for from England, or we must perish. We desired our men's arms might be changed, they being extreme bad, and two-fifths not to be made serviceable here. Of 3000 men designed, we brought but 2500, and not 1600 of them well armed; so that (our stores not coming as promised) we are making half-pikes here to arm the rest, and those we raise, for we have not any hopes to procure, at any hand, above 1600 fire-arms. If bread and meal be not sent unto us constantly, we must want it; for cassavy, after it is planted (and we cannot plant till June, at soonest), will not be fit to eat of in a year.

"It's agreed on, by all persons that know America, that English powder will not keep above nine months, and at that time we must receive constant supplies. French and Spanish powder will keep many years; therefore I earnestly desire that saltpetre and all other materials, a mill and men to make powder, might be sent to us, for the several ingredients will keep uncompounded very well. We have met with all the obstructions that men in this place can cast in our way; and now we have time to draw our men together, we find not half of them to be armed; nay, in some regiments, not above 200 are; the most having unfixed arms, and unfit men generally given us; and here we are forced to make half-pikes to arm them, which hath lost us so much time, and will hazard our ruin. Had we been armed in England, doubtless we had been at work before this. I have just now an account from General Penn, of what the fleet can accommodate us with;[1] which, as you may see by the enclosed particular, will not amount to, in short, above fifteen shot a man: a most inconsiderable proportion to have hunted Tories in Ireland with, where we might have had supplies every day; much more, to attempt one of the greatest princes in the world within his most beloved country, where some supplies cannot be had above twice a-year; and this island, we find upon trial, will not fit us with so much: a sad matter, that we must attempt so high with little or nothing, or return home and do nothing! which few of us (but) had a great deal more cheerfully hear the news of death than, be guilty of.

"I have given you the best account I am able; the commissioners, I believe, will be more large to his highness. Pray let not the old proverb be verified in us, 'out of sight, out of mind:' if so, you will quickly hear we are out of this

[1] This must mean, over and above the army-stores; but I find no such document in General Penn's *Book of Copies*.

world. Sir, your interest in heaven, and that on earth, is earnestly desired may be improved in the behalf of

"Yours, &c.

"Barbadoes, Feb. 28, 1654-5." "R. VENABLES.

General Venables to General Montagu.

"SIR,

"Since my last to you from Barbadoes, I have not heard from you; which place we left the last of March, and came to St. Christopher's, where we found a regiment formed; and not staying to anchor, we sailed thence without setting foot on shore; and in a fortnight's time came to Hispaniola, where we landed upon Saturday, the 14th of April, near forty miles to the west of Santo Domingo. The reason was, our pilots were all absent; the chief had outstayed his order, being sent out to discover, and none with us but an old Dutchman, that knew no place but that: whereas, we resolved to have landed where Sir Francis Drake did, except forced off by a fort (said to be there); and then, in such a case, to have gone to the other.

"From our landing, we marched without any guide, save Heaven, through woods; the ways so narrow, that 500 men might have extremely prejudiced 20,000 by ambushes; but this course the enemy held not, save twice. The weather extreme hot, and little water; our feet scorched through our shoes, and men and horse died of thirst; but if any had liquor put into their mouths, presently after they fell they would recover, else die in an instant. Our men, the last fortnight at sea, had bad bread, and little of it or other victuals, notwithstanding General Penn's order, so that they were very weak at landing; and some, instead of three days' provision at landing, had but one, with which they marched

five days, and therefore fell to eat limes, oranges, lemons, &c., which put them into fluxes and fevers. Of the former, I had my share for near a fortnight, with cruel gripings that I could scarce stand. Colonel Butler was ordered to land to the east of the city, but could not; and therefore he, and the Christopher's regiment under Colonel Holdip, were landed where we first resolved, and were ordered by General Penn (whose order I enjoined them to obey) to stay there for us; but they marched away, which, contrary to the first resolution, with some other reasons, drew us beyond their landing (where we were to receive more victuals) to secure them who were straggling up and down for water; which put the enemy upon placing of an ambush for them, which fell upon our forlorn, and routed them; but the van immediately beat them back with loss, and pursued them near to the city walls, who shot at us. Victuals we wanted, having fasted two days, every man of us; our ammunition spent; no water; and our men ready to faint, and some died: the eagerness and heat of fight had drawn them beyond their strength. Whereupon it was resolved, at a council of war, to retreat for meat and ammunition, which we did. But our long march, and this delay, did give the enemy time to call in all the country, to at least 4000 or 5000; and left our men, after travel by sea, bad diet, and fasting, very weak; so that when we advanced the next, they fell upon our forlorn again, routed them, and then in the narrow lanes and thick woods routed mine and Major-General Haynes' regiment, slew my major and three of my captains, slew the major-general, and wounded his lieutenant-colonel, who is since dead; and were not repulsed, till the regiment of seamen (with whom I was) gave stop to this disaster. Never did my eyes see men more discouraged, being scarce able to make them stand when the enemy was retreated, who never looked upon us until we were ready to faint for water; they having (which I forgot before to tell you) stopped up all

their wells, so that we had not, of ten miles, one drop of water; so that whoever comes into these parts must bring leather-bottles, which are more needful here than knap-sacks in Ireland: therefore, pray procure great store of them, or we must never make further attempt, the Spaniard's defence being over-grown woods and want of water.

"Upon this disaster, and our men's fears, we fell to new counsels, and resolved to try Jamaica (from which nothing diverted our first attempt, but that it wanted a name in the world, our men refusing to march again for Domingo), where we landed (having beaten the enemy from off his forts and ordnance) upon the 10th of May; and find the country, in our judgments, equal, if not superior, to Hispaniola; and in four miles march here, I saw more cattle and plantations than in forty in Hispaniola, and a better air; the site more advantageous to intercept the Spanish plate-fleet.

"The *Recovery* and *William*, of London, are come to us with some biscuit, which we extremely want; but the fleet claim it as theirs, and then we starve: for the enemy here, after signing articles, have run into the woods, and drove away all the cattle into the mountains, and left us nothing but bare walls and roots to shelter and feed upon. We are getting horse, to make troopers and dragoons; and then we hope well, if the Lord bless a party we have sent forth under Colonel Butler. The people have broken all their promises all along; but we have their governor, and another principal man, as two hostages. They say the articles are too harsh; a copy of which I have sent enclosed to Mr. Rowe, of whom you may have them.

"Pray move for bread and meal (for the country will not afford us any cassavy considerable, of a year), with brandy, and all other provisions, as in the former, with conveniency to make powder and saltpetre; which some men amongst us, that were powder-men in London, do affirm may be had as good and as plentifully as in any place

in the world; and, after three years, they will undertake to serve England at an easier rate than ever: wood, and rivers for mills, with carriage, being easy here, with choice of place to erect mills at for powder and petre, which I desire we may be enabled for to make. For Christopher's will furnish us with brimstone; all other materials are here in abundance, save workmen.

"We find ebony in great plenty, and great store of large cattle, and timber in abundance for shipping, and some ships on the stocks in building; a gallant harbour, and very safe when in, and easy for to fortify. If we want a fleet, we are cooped up as drones; these with us cannot stay, they want provisions. I have not had one day's health since I left Barbadoes. I cannot eat any thing, save milk or broth; scarce able to stand on my legs. Officers die so fast, that we are troubled to find men to supply their places: near 3000 men sick with the rains and ill air of Hispaniola: the distemper got there, some will carry to their graves. Honest Mr. Winslow is dead of a fever, since we left Hispaniola. Had I time and strength, I should give you a more large account, which I reserve for another time; and desire you to excuse me that I use another pen, being unable to perform it myself. Pray send us bread and meal, or else we perish; here it is not to be had, and New England (we are assured) is not able to furnish us, and, therefore, England must speedily, or we perish. I remain, sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"St. Jago de la Vega, in Jamaica, May 26, 1655." "R. VENABLES.[1]

The journal now proceeds:

[1] These two letters of Venables are copied from Carte's "Collection of Original Letters, &c." vol. ii. pp. 46–52. 8vo. 1739.

25*th*, *Monday*.—We set sail about six in the morning from Jamaica, with the ships under mentioned, viz. *Swiftsure*, *Lion*, *Mathias*, *Bear*, *Convertine*, *Rosebush*, *Cock*, *Gilliflower*, *Sampson*, *Indian*, *Westergate*.

July 8*th*, *Sunday*.—Cape Corientes, at eight o'clock, bore E. by S.; and the same day, at five in the afternoon, Cape St. Antony bore E.S.E. of us, six leagues from us. This day, the master, Mr. John Whetstone, was heaved overboard. Cape St. Antony lies in 21° 30′.

13*th*, *Friday*.—Being a day appointed for seeking the Lord, the *Paragon*, between nine and ten o'clock, in sermon-time, took fire in the steward's room; and burnt three or four hours, till at last she blew up. Her masts were burnt down within an hour after the beginning of the fire. About 110 men were lost in the water; the rest were saved by their own and other ships' boats. I was then sick, and so could observe the less of the disaster. (W. B.)

14*th*, *Saturday*.—We made the bay of Matanzas, upon Cuba (lying in 24°): the wind at E.: we standing off all day.

15*th*, *Sunday*.—We met a small Dutch man-of-war, whose examinations, with the motives inducing the council of war to dismiss her, see in the book of copies.

(Viz.) "At a Council of War, the 15th July, 1655, aboard the *Swiftsure*, near the Bay of Matanzas, on the Island of Cuba: these present,

The General.

Rear-Admiral,	Capt. Poole,
Capt. Lambert,	Capt. Terry,
Capt. Felsted,	Capt. Hubbard,
Capt. Coppin,	Capt. Rooth,
Capt. Story,	Capt. Garrat,
Capt. Ketcher,	Capt. Hodges,
Master of the *Falcon* fireship,	Master of the *Convertine*.

"The question being put, Whether we should detain and seize the ship *Raven*, (concerning whose condition the com-

mander's examination fully expresses,) or let her proceed on her design? It was carried, no man dissenting, that she should be cleared.

"The reasons they gave were several.

"1. She had eleven men in a canoe, about ten leagues to windward, looking out for victuals, who must perish.

"2. The victuals we should have spared them would be worth more than the vessel, which was very ill-provided with necessaries.

"3. Victuals was so exceeding scarce with us, that we shall be put to sore extremity, without God's merciful prevention by a short passage.

"4. It would much advantage us, in reference to victuals, by putting the men taken out of the *Red Horse* prize on board of him.

"5. He spared us about five tuns of water, which began to grow scarce with us."

19*th*, *Thursday*.—(25° 30′.) Cape Florida bore W.N.W. ten leagues from us.

24*th*, *Tuesday*.—(29° 35′; wind S.W.; course N.E. by E.) Captain Subada, our extra-pilot, was dismissed; and sent to Jamaica, to the vice-admiral, in the *Humber* brigantine. He carried letters, one to the vice-admiral, another to Commissioner Butler, the third to them both.

To Vice-Admiral Goodson.

"Loving Friend,

"I shall refer you to this bearer, Captain Subada, for a report of our passage hitherto, who is well able to give it. It hath pleased God to retard us by frequent calms; and (to) visit us by much sickness throughout the fleet, which now is (praised be His name) come to abate. But the saddest dispensation of all is the burning of the *Paragon*, on Friday

was seven-night, with the loss of about 100 men, amongst whom Mr. Carter, the two chirurgeons, &c.; the original of which was in the steward's room, in time of duty, but the means, manner, and occasion, are wholly hid from our strictest inquiries. We have met but one sail since we saw you, by whom we understand the plate-fleet is not yet come to the Havannah; and, doubtless, if they hear of your lying on the coast near Carthagena, to intercept them, they will not put forth to sea; which, if they do not, 'tis likely that those who are already at the Havannah will not depart without them, and so they will lose the season of the year, and consequently prejudice the King of Spain's affairs very much; especially, now it's known we have a fleet in those seas. I know your diligence, and that you very well apprehend of what consequence the thing may be; therefore I shall say no more concerning it. I have sent you the commander's examination (of the *Raven*), and the reasons why it was thought fit to dismiss him. Our provisions spend fast, and begin to be scarce; so that I fear, unless it please God suddenly to encourage and assist us, by seasonable winds, I shall be forced to send part of these ships to recruit at New England, and take out what they can spare, for the better enabling others to proceed home. My true affection to yourself, and hearty love to the commanders, with all the rest of our friends both on sea and shore (though I forbear to name any particularly). And so, I beseech Almighty God to bless you all; direct you in your ways, to His glory and the public good; lastly, to preserve you from sad accidents, your care against which can never be doubted by

"Your true friend to serve you,

"*Swiftsure* (at Sea), 24th July, 1655. (29° 35′.) "W. P.

"The rear-admiral is with me, and remembers his love to you."

To Commissioner Gregory Butler.

"SIR,

"This comes by Captain Subada, who can give you an account of our passage thus far; frequent calms have retarded it, and few things memorable have occurred; only Providence hath again much saddened us, by the burning of the *Paragon*, on Friday was seven-night; the fire beginning in sermon time, in the steward's room: but how, or whether the causers of it be already punished, is not yet discovered; for about 100 men perished in the water. The Lord make it a caveat to other ships; for, questionless, want of care (as a lower cause) begot that sad mischance. Your letters in her, are all lost; and how much it imports you to second them, is best known to yourself. I wonder your letters came not to me, according to your promise at my coming away. I was sorry for that omission, or mishap; you best know which it was. If the first, I desire you would by all opportunities redeem it the best you may; and withal, let me be fully acquainted with all your passages and proceedings from time to time: and, because I know not when I shall have means to renew this desire, let this present stick as fast in your memory, as such a one from you should in mine. My love and respects, present in due form to every one, (viz.) the general, if living, and lady; the major-general; and the rest according to your discretion. By all means neglect not writing to me, and put not off that work to the very pinch. I had rather receive your letters of older date by some weeks, than none at all. Remember me, and yourself who have me,

"Sir, your friend to serve you,

"W. P.

"24th July, 1655."

To the Vice-Admiral and Commissioner Gregory Butler, by Captain Subada, 24th July, 1655.

"GENTLEMEN,

"The bearer, Captain Subada, is now discharged from his attendance on this fleet, wherein he hath served very diligently and ably since the 7th of April. I would have satisfied him here; but he pleading some condition upon which he was entertained by Commissioner Butler, which I do not clearly understand, I refer him to you two to be heard in that matter. I am contented to allow him master's pay of this ship (viz. £6. 6*s*. per month) from the 7th of April to this day; of which I have already imprested[1] him £10, which I desire you, Vice-Admiral Goodson, to deduct when you pay him his said wages, and place it debtor to my account.

"I rest, yours, &c.

"W. P."

August 20th, Monday.—The isles of Flores and Corvo (Azores), by reckoning, bore S.E. ninety leagues from us.

29th, Wednesday.—(49° 54′.) About ten in the morning we gave chase to a ship, and about three in the afternoon took her, viz. the *Katherine*, of St. John de Luz, 200 tons, 10 guns, come from Greenland, with about fifty ton of oil, thirty quintals of whalebone; no other goods.

30th, Thursday.—(49° 52′.) We met with the *Fagans* frigate: at nine forenoon, we saw land, which was imagined to be the Lizard, bearing N.N.W. about six leagues off.

31st, Friday.—About seven in the morning we were five or six leagues off Portland, it bearing N. and by E. Between four and five in the afternoon, came to an anchor at Spithead: sent away an express, wherein a letter to his high-

[1] That is, given him *in hand*: see note to vol. i. page 425.

ness, one to General Disbrowe, one to the commissioners of the admiralty, and one to Secretary Thurloe.

To his Highness the Lord Protector.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

"My last was by the *Cardiff*, wherein I gave your highness an account of what ships were thought fit to stay at Jamaica, and those which were to come in this fleet. We set sail from that place the 25th June, and kept company till the 13th July, when, near the Havannah, about ten leagues from the land, the ship *Paragon* took fire (as is conceived) about or in the steward's room; and, in two hours' space, notwithstanding all endeavours, her masts and upper works being burnt, the powder, in a twinkling, took the sad spectacle from our eyes, but not the chief from our hearts. About 100 persons perished in the water; and with them, the probability of finding out the secondary cause, and unhappy instruments, of that doleful accident. About the same time and place, the *Heart's-ease*, *Tulip*, and *Gilliflower*, were severed from us, and not as yet met with. The rest of us came and kept together within forty leagues of the Land's-end; and the day before yesterday, this ship giving chase to a French ship come from Greenland (about 200 tons, with some train-oil) took her, but lost sight of the rest of our fleet; which this day we have got sight of, they keeping on their course.

"As to my coming home, it was somewhat against my inclination to leave your highness's service in those parts; but was advised, and at length persuaded, by some (upon whose spirits it lay, that my departure for England might be more requisite for your service than my stay there) to address myself for the same at home; and, first of all, to render your highness an account, of transactions and affairs at the place we came from, by my personal appearance. I am now waiting

only your highness's commands, which always were grateful to me, in that they have still given me occasion to express myself

"Your highness's very ready, and
most humble faithful servant,

"August 31st, 1655. "W. P.

"Vice-Admiral Goodson I have left to command.

"Rear-Admiral Dakins was commander of the *Paragon*, and is now here."

Letters to the same purport and effect, to the commissioners of the admiralty and navy, and to General Disbrowe.

To General Disbrowe.

"Honoured Sir,

"In my last to you, I signified how I had informed his highness that I then waited his commands, to come and yield him an account, the best I could, touching the voyage, &c.; and withal, desired you would be pleased, by a few lines, to report his highness's pleasure in answer thereto.

But, not having answer from his highness, or yourself, I am in a strait what to do, but shall stay your answer, touching his highness's will; lest that, leave being already asked, it might be called an absurdity to depart without either it or an answer. As for my own particular, I hasten not; nor should have moved to come up, but only in reference to his highness's service.

"Sir, I shall desire, and not doubt, but your answer hereto will be very speedy, to your

"Most faithful,

"September 3, 1655." "W. P.

September 3d, Monday.—This day came an order from the commissioners, for the ships of this fleet to go about for Chatham.

Here ends the journal[1] and its documents: I shall proceed by the minutes of the Council of State, after exposing another false statement transmitted by Campbell.

"On their passage home," says this writer, "they "fell in with the Spanish plate-fleet, but without "attacking it; whether through want of will, or of "instructions, at this distance is hard to determine." Had Penn fallen in with that fleet, there can be no reason to doubt that he would have attacked it as readily as he had attacked the island of Jamaica; but, that the fact alleged by Campbell is altogether untrue, is shewn; 1st, by the journal of the *Swiftsure*, which makes no mention of such a meeting, although it mentions every vessel the fleet saw at sea on their return; 2d, from Penn's notice respecting the plate-fleet, in the preceding letter to Goodson, of the 24th of July; and 3d, from his instruction to Goodson, "to use his best endeavours (by all op- "portunities presenting) to seize, surprise, and take, "all vessels belonging to the King of Spain, or any "of his subjects in America;" which instruction, was no other than the transmission of the instruction he had himself received. Campbell has indeed been drawn into this error by Heath (to whom he refers); who asserts, without adducing any authority, that "the Jamaica fleet, through indifference of temper, "in returning home, suffered the longed-for plate-

[1] I can trace nothing of the writer of the Journal beyond his initials, W. B. (see above, page 126); but these lead me to conclude, that he was the William Burrows mentioned in Appendix M, as being Sir William Penn's chief clerk in the Navy Office, after the Restoration.

" fleet, in *August*, in the *Gulf of Florida*, to pass, " unfought, upon their voyage to Spain." Now, it happens, that in addition to the preceding evidence of the falseness of this allegation, we have, in the journal of the *Swiftsure*, the fleet's latitude on each day, from the 24th of July, when Penn, writing to Goodson, in lat. 29° 35′, said, " We have met but " one sail since we saw you, by whom we understand " the plate-fleet is not yet come to the Havannah;" throughout all August, until its arrival off the Lizard, on the 30th of that month. When, therefore, he so wrote to Goodson in July, he had already passed the Gulf of Florida (at lat. 28°); and was steering a N.E. course, without deviation; *ex. gr.*

July 24	.....	29°	35′ N. L.	August 13	.....	40°	10′ N. L.
25	.....	29	49	14	.....	40	50
26	.....	30	27	15	.....	41	30
27	.....	31	4	16	.....	41	40
28	.....	32	0	17	.....	42	28
29	.....	32	49	18	.....	42	56
August 1	.....	33	5	19	.....	43	20
2	.....	33	18	21	.....	44	45
3	.....	33	45	22	.....	46	0
4	.....	34	16	23	.....	46	13
5	.....	34	43	24	.....	46	40
6	.....	35	49	25	.....	47	29
7	.....	36	25	26	.....	48	16
8	.....	37	5	27	.....	49	20
9	.....	37	31	28	.....	49	27
10	.....	38	41	29	.....	49	54
11	.....	39	26	30	.....	49	52

3*d*. — *Ordered*, that General Penn do forthwith make his repair to the council, and that a letter be written unto him for that purpose; and that he commit the conduct of the fleet into the river unto some of the commanders; and

give strict orders to the officers of the ships, that there be no embezzlement of the state's stores: the tenor of which letter followeth, viz.:

"SIR,

"The council having notice of your arrival with the fleet; and also of the orders given by the commissioners of the admiralty and navy how the ships should be disposed of, do hold your presence here necessary, that they may receive information from you, in order to their further resolutions touching the ships and forces in the West Indies; and therefore have ordered, that you make your present repair hither for that purpose, committing the care of the conduct of the fleet up into the river, to some of the commanders of the ships with you; and also, that you give strict orders, before your coming thence, to the officers of all the ships, that they take special care that there be no embezzlement of the state's stores.

"Signed in the name and by order of the council,

"H. LAWRENCE, President.

"Whitehall, 3d Sept. 1655.

"For General Wm. Penn."

11*th.*—That General Penn do attend the council to-morrow morning at eight o'clock.

12*th.*—According to an order of yesterday, General Penn did this day attend the council, and made a narrative of the proceedings of the fleet sent into the West Indies under his command, and of the state of that part thereof which he left behind him at Jamaica.[1]

"*Ordered,* That it be referred to the Lord Commissioner Fiennes, the Lord Lambert, the Lord Viscount Lisle, Colonel

[1] The heads of this examination are given in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 28. He was particularly questioned, respecting the natural qualities of the island of Jamaica.

Jones, Colonel Sydenham, and General Disbrowe, or any two of them, to consider of the whole business of Jamaica, and to report the state thereof, with their opinions, to the council."

20*th*.—His highness acquainted the council, that General Robert Venables attended at the door, whereupon he was called in.

"*Ordered*, That it be offered to his highness, as the advice of the council, that General Robert Venables be committed to the Tower.

"That it be offered to his highness, as the advice of the council, that General William Penn be committed to the Tower."

Having thus disposed of the captor, Cromwell lost no time in taking measures for availing himself of the capture, of the value of which he was thoroughly aware;[1] as will be seen in the preamble of the following proclamation which he immediately issued and dispersed, to invite and encourage settlers in his new possession.

A Proclamation of the Protector relating to Jamaica.

"Whereas, by the good providence of God, our fleet, in their late expedition into America, have possessed themselves of a certain island called Jamaica, spacious in its extent, commodious in its harbours and rivers within itself, healthful by its situation, fertile in the nature of the soil, well stored with horses and other cattle, and generally fit and worthy to

[1] Whitelock writes in July: "In the beginning of this month, Major "Sedgwick was sent with twelve ships, and Colonel Humphreys with his "regiment, with supplies to those in Jamaica; so careful was the protector to "lose no advantage of what he had got footing in." See Appendix H, for Cromwell's further measures respecting this new acquisition.

be planted and improved, to the advantage, honour, and interest of this nation:

"And whereas divers persons, merchants, and others heretofore conversant in plantations, and the trade of the like nature, are desirous to undertake and proceed upon plantations and settlements upon that island:

"We, therefore, for the better encouragement of all such persons so inclined, have, by the advice of our council, taken care, not only for the strengthening and securing of that island from all enemies, but for the constituting and settling of a civil government, by such good laws and customs as are and have been exercised in colonies and places of the like nature; and have appointed surveyors, and other public officers, for the more equal distribution of public right and justice in the said island.

"And, for the further encouragement to the industry and good affection of such persons, we have provided and given orders to the commissioners of our customs, that every planter or adventurer to that island shall be exempt and free from paying any excise or custom for any manufactures, provisions, or any other goods or necessaries, which he or they shall transport to the said island of Jamaica, within the space of seven years to come from Michaelmas next.

"And also, that sufficient caution and security be given by the said commissioners, that such goods shall be delivered at Jamaica only. And we have also, out of our special consideration of the welfare and prosperity of that island, provided, that no customs, or other tax or impost, be laid or charged upon any commodity, which shall be the produce and native growth of that island, and shall be imported into any of the dominions belonging to this commonwealth; which favour and exemption shall continue for the space of ten years, to begin and be accounted from Michaelmas next. We have also given our special orders and directions, that no embargo or other hinderance, upon any pretence whatsoever,

be laid upon any ships, seamen, or other passengers or adventurers, which shall appear to be engaged and bound for the said island.

"And we do hereby further declare, for ourselves and our successors, that whatsoever other favour, or immunity, or protection, shall or may conduce to the welfare, strength, and improvement of the said island, shall from time to time be continued and applied thereunto. Given under our hand, &c."

It was truly said by Penn's son (afterwards the eminent Quaker), in a defence of his father, written after his death, with relation to the failure at Hispaniola and the success at Jamaica: "His "employ was only as general of the fleet; he had "nothing to do with the army, and had no com- "mand over them, it being the charge and office of "a distinct general. And when the forlorn and "land-general's regiment were routed, it was the "sea-regiment (commanded by Vice-Admiral Good- "son) that stood the shock, and stopped that de- "luge: and, not to reflect on any, but vindicate my "deceased father, that conquest which was in any "respect obtained, was owing mostly to the fleet, "and that, no less by land than sea."

The only truth that Oldmixon has spoken respecting this expedition, is this: "Whatever loss the "nation were at in the expedition of Penn and "Venables, it has since got more by this acquisition "than the charge of all the commonwealth's wars "amount to; Jamaica being the most flourishing "colony in the New World."

Cromwell's violent proceeding towards Penn, has been ascribed to causes wholly imaginary. Some writers have affirmed, that Cromwell sent out the western fleet expressly to capture Hispaniola; on the possession of which his heart was so strongly set, that the failure worked his mind into a state of fury. "The first step they took," says Oldmixon, was an "omen of their ill success; they broke Cromwell's "orders as to the landing-place; he had given "them instructions to enter the port immediately." The utter falsehood of this assertion has been exposed in the terms of the Instructions above cited, which left the commissioners totally unshackled by any specific object, provided they "gained an interest "in that part of the West Indies in the possession "of the Spaniard;"[1] and that interest they gained, by possessing themselves of the island of Jamaica. Others of those writers have alleged, that Cromwell's ignorance of the value of Jamaica made him the sorer at missing the prize of Hispaniola; but his proclamation in praise of his new acquisition, and the immediate steps he took to avail himself of all its advantages, prove that allegation to be an unfounded conjecture. Others, again, ascribe the imprisonment of Penn, and the subsequent rejection of his future services, to his having returned home without leave. But he had the unanimous approval of a council of war, based on adequate reasons reported to Cromwell, for his departure from Jamaica; and his commission of general of the fleet, gave him a discretion

[1] See above, page 28.

extending to the step he had taken. This last, however, was the ground alleged by Cromwell himself. Oldmixon, following Burchett, says; "being both "arrived, they were heard at Whitehall, one against "another, where the accusations of both seemed to be "of more weight than the deserts of either of them." This is a pure fabrication, of ignorance of fact, or malice of purpose; no such proceedings ever took place. Penn was only questioned, for the information of the council, on the points already mentioned. Venables also was separately questioned and examined; but there was no confronting, or mutual crimination. Thurloe, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, briefly states the avowed motives for Penn's commitment: "General Venables arrived here the "last week. Upon his first appearing before the "council, he was committed to the Tower, being "able to give no reason for his leaving his com-"mand without license, to the hazard of the army. "General Penn was also committed at the same time, "and *for the same cause.*"[1] But, if Penn had been guilty of an error in form, or in judgment, that alone could not explain Cromwell's totally discarding so able and eminent an officer. Those, however, who well know the history of that extraordinary man, know, that his indefatigable and searching vigilance was such, that he had spies in every quarter, even near the king's person, of which we have already seen an example,[2] when his power was far less than it

[1] 25th September, State Papers, vol. iv. p. 55.

[2] See vol. i. p. 282.

was now become; and, that he expended no less a sum than 60,000 pounds a-year in maintaining those secret correspondents. The only cause, therefore, that could be commensurate with the offence which he had so suddenly conceived, was his having discovered, through his paid agents, Penn's devotion to the king's cause, in hostility to his own; and his suspicion, that Penn had thus unexpectedly returned, to disturb his protectoral government. Yet, Penn's influence in the navy, and the caution with which Cromwell found it necessary to treat the men of that service, in the present state of their temper and of his authority, set bounds even to Cromwell's fierce resentment; and he caused it to be signified to him, that if he would acknowledge himself to be in fault, he should be released from his present confinement. Penn, who had ulterior views of high importance, from which that confinement wholly withheld him, felt but little repugnance to conform to this humour of the protector, though, at the same time, "he "assured him, that he would not, in the manner that "was expected, own himself in fault; yet," continue the historians, "for reasons best known to himself, "and through the persuasion of others near the "protector's person, he made his submission."[1] The council, however, in recording the submission, were careful to omit the qualification with which it had been accompanied.

"*October 25th.*—On reading the humble petition of William Penn, now prisoner in the Tower, and consideration

[1] BURCHETT, p. 395; LEDIARD, p. 505.

of his acknowledging of his fault, and his submission therein contained;

"Ordered, that it be offered to his highness, as the advice of his council, that his highness will please to issue his warrant to the lieutenant of the Tower, to release and set at liberty the petitioner; the same to be delivered, and put in execution forthwith, after his delivering up to the hands of Mr. Jessop, one of the clerks of the council, the commission whereby his highness constituted the petitioner one of the generals of the fleet."

"*Same day, post merid.*—Mr. Jessop gives account to his highness and the council, that he had received from General Penn his commission, according to an order of this day; and had thereupon delivered, to the lieutenant of the Tower, his highness's warrant for General Penn's discharge; and the commission itself was immediately delivered to his highness."

"26*th.*—On reading an instrument[1] under the hands and seals of General Venables, General Penn, and Commissioner Butler, containing an allotment of lands to the officers and soldiers in Jamaica,

"Ordered, that it be referred to the committee of the council for the affairs of Jamaica, to consider thereof, and report their opinion therein to the council."

I shall observe, that General Penn neither acquired, nor claimed, any share in the allotments of land in his new conquest.

[1] This interesting document does not exist in the Colonial Office, nor in the Board of Trade. If it survives, it must be, either in the Council Office, the State-Paper Office, or in the archives of the Island.

CHAPTER VI.

1656—1660.

Interval to the Restoration.

1656.

Not long after his release from the Tower, and his dismissal from the service of the Protector, in September 1655, General Penn repaired to his estate in Ireland; where he remained, in communion with his old connexions in Munster, secretly cherishing the royal interest in that kingdom. In this year, 1656, I find no record of him; I shall therefore turn, for a while, to some of his gallant comrades.

Sir George Ascue, as we have already seen, was laid aside by the Rump parliament in 1652, after his brave conflict with De Ruyter, in consequence of the favourable terms which he had granted to the king's governor of Barbadoes, the Lord Willoughby of Parham, on the surrender of that island to the parliament's fleet under his command; which terms appeared to betray a secret disposition by no means satisfactory to Cromwell, and to those who were then become the leaders, or rather his instruments, in that fragment of the parliament. Ascue had declined service under the Protector, and had retired to his country-seat at Ham-Haw, near Weybridge, in the

county of Surrey.[1] "This (said the writer of Lilly's "Almanac for August 16th, 1652) is he that is a "gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts the part "of a generous commander in all things." Whitelock has recorded an incident of this brave officer in his retirement, during this year, which cannot fail to interest every naval reader, and which will therefore not be out of place in these Memorials.

"*August* 13*th*, 1656.—The ambassador of Sweden (Count Bundt) dined at Sir George Ascue's house in Surrey, where they had very noble entertainment. The house stands environed with ponds, moats, and water, like a ship at sea; a fancy the fitter for the master's humour, who is himself so great a seaman. There, he said, 'he had cast anchor;' and intended to spend the rest of his life in a private retirement.

"The ambassador, understanding the abilities of Sir George in sea affairs, did (according to his custom) endeavour to improve his own knowledge by his discourses and questions to the company, according to their several capacities and abilities; he therefore found many questions to demand of Sir George, and had much discourse with him about sea matters, and particularly concerning our English frigates. He was very inquisitive to know of Sir George, 'Whether he esteemed them the best of any sort of ships for fight?' Sir George answered freely, 'That he did not esteem them the best ships for fight, but held the old-fashioned English ships of the biggest rate best for fight.' And being asked his reason, said, 'Because they were stronger than the frigates; would

[1] This place became afterwards the property of James the Second, who gave it to his favourite, Catherine Sedley; Countess of Dorchester, by creation for her life, and by her marriage, Countess of Portmore; from whom it has been inherited by her descendants, the Earls of Portmore. The ancient house has been pulled down.

endure the shaking of their own guns, and the blows of the enemy's guns, better than the frigates could; and were firm, and like a castle in the sea, and not so easy to be boarded as the frigates, being higher built.' The ambassador replied, 'That they themselves could not so easily board another ship, being so high built.' Sir George answered, 'That when they came to boarding, they that assailed had not so great a trouble of going down their own ship, as going up to the enemy's; and the high building was no hinderance to their boarding of another, but was the better defence for themselves.'

"The ambassador also objected, 'That they could not so easily come about, and fetch up another ship, as the frigates could.' Sir George answered, 'That they could easily enough tack about upon any occasion in fight, but confessed that they could not so soon fetch up another ship, nor take or leave, as the frigates could; which,' he said, 'was rather an inducement to cowardice than courage; and some captains, when they knew they could leave an enemy as they pleased, would engage in the fewer blows. Whereas, the old built ships must stand to it; and the men, knowing that there was no running away, would have the better mettle to fight it out.'

"The ambassador asked, 'Which would last longest, the ships built after the old fashion, or the frigates?' Sir George answered, 'That the old building was more strong and substantial than the building of the frigates, which were made long and light for sailing, and therefore could not last so long as the others; and they carrying many guns, and being thus made, their own guns did much shake and wear them, more than the guns of the others did.' They had much discourse of this nature, which added pleasure to the entertainment."[1]

The writer of Ascue's life, in the *Biographia Britannica*, states, that this interview with the Swed-

[1] Whitelock, p. 649.

ish ambassador was brought about by Whitelock, at the desire of Cromwell, in order to endeavour to induce Sir George to accept service in the navy of the King of Sweden, whom Cromwell was then desirous of rendering an efficient naval ally against the Dutch. It is certain, that, not long after, Sir George was induced to repair to Sweden, to hold a chief command at sea, accompanied by several English captains, who were also to serve on board the Swedish fleet.

Lawson, though known by Cromwell to entertain a determinedly hostile disposition towards him and his anomalous government, was continued in the vice-admiralty of the fleet until the summer of the present year; when, being found implicated, with certain of the fifth-monarchy-men, in a plot to destroy the protectorate, he was discharged from the vice-admiralty, and with them was apprehended. Goodson succeeded him in the post of vice-admiral. Campbell has the merit of rendering a very material justice to Lawson's name, by directing his reader to the evidence which proves the falsehood of an opinion that has generally prevailed, that Lawson, who acted in secret with those fanatics, was himself one of their party. The index to Thurloe's sixth volume, with great negligence, so represents him; but the document to which it refers in the body of the work, directly contradicts the index. It states, "that those "fanatics were very mean men; and that other heads and hands, who were all this while behind "the curtain, began to think that those men might

"be made good use of, as a sort of Forlorn; to "which end, the first step must be to reconcile the "fifth-monarchy-men and the commonwealth party," including Lawson, and the sea-captains Lyon, Crispin, and Dekins,[1] in the latter description.

But, Lawson was no otherwise a commonwealth-man, than as he was desirous to relieve the existing commonwealth from the protectoral excrescence which had grown out of it in its present distempered condition. To describe him as a "staunch repub-"lican," and a "republican at heart," in a theoretical sense, as several writers have done, in echo of Clarendon, shews great unacquaintance both with the man and the times. It was the old navy grievance, the *tyranny of the army*,[2] which Lawson and his naval associates contemplated in the person of Cromwell, that roused them to endeavour his overthrow.

"In 1655," says Heath, "Cromwell had erected "a new military authority, like the Turkish bashaws, "distributed into several provinces, or counties, with "an unbounded power; England being now can-"toned into this *Hendec-archy*, viz. Kent and Surrey, "under Colonel Kelsey; Sussex, Hampshire, and "Berkshire, under Goff; Gloucestershire, Wilts, "Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, under Col. "Desborough; Oxfordshire, Buckingham, Hertford,

[1] Pages 184, 185.

[2] See Sir W. Batten's *Declaration*, vol. i. pp. 267, 269. There can be no stronger proof, how little is generally known of the spirit and mind of the navy at this period, than that a recent naval biographer has been led to speak of "Lawson's religious prejudices having *bound him to the interests of Cromwell*."

" Cambridge, Isle of Ely, Essex, Norfolk, and Suf-
" folk, under Lieut.-General Fleetwood; London,
" under Major-General Skippon; Lincolnshire, Not-
" tingham, Derby, Warwick, and Leicester, under
" Whaley; Northamptonshire, Bedford, Rutland,
" and Huntingdon, under one Major Butler; Wor-
" cestershire, Hereford, Shropshire, and North Wales,
" under Colonel Berry; Cheshire, Lancashire, and
" Stafford, under Colonel Worsely; Yorkshire,
" Durham, Cumberland, Northumberland, and West-
" moreland, under Lord Lambert; Westminster and
" Middlesex, under Colonel Berkstead. Their com-
" mission, was to take a roll and account of all sus-
" pected persons of the king's party; and such as
" were actually so, to receive security of them, in
" which they were to be bound to act nothing against
" the government, and to reveal all plots that should
" come to their knowledge; they were to suppress
" all horse-races, cock-matches, and other concourses
" of people; to secure the highways; to take en-
" gagement from royalists for their servants and
" children; and those that did not so, nor give
" security, to commit to prison; and to rate and
" receive money rising from this decimation.[1] In
" short, there was nothing which they might not do,
" nor which they did not; such an arbitrary vast
" power they had from the protector."[2]

Thurloe's letter to General Mountagu, in Carte's Collections, informing him of the apprehension of

[1] A levy of a tenth part of the property of those persons.

[2] Page 378.

Lawson and his colleagues in the plot, is dated the 28th of August, 1656. He thus writes; "There have "been of late some very strong combinations to put "us into blood, by the levelling party and the fifth-"monarchy-men; who had several meetings to unite "one another in principles, to make way for a con-"junction in arms. Several of them were appre-"hended, as Lawson, Okey, Lyon, Col. Rich, and "one Vinter, and also one Lea, Portman, and others; "which were the leading men in these matters. "There was a necessity, not only for peace' sake, "to do this, but to let the nation see, those that "governed[1] are in good earnest; and intend not to "quit the government wholly into the hands of the "parliament, as some would need make the world "believe." Campbell refers this measure to April 10th, of the following year, but produces no authority: he adds, "when Lawson recovered his liberty, "he judged proper to retire." The term *levelling-party*, here used by Thurloe, as applied to Lawson, must be understood with relation only to an usurping sovereign; for his conduct amply proved, that it was wholly inapplicable to him with relation to a legitimate one.

From that time, Lawson was also laid aside; and thus, the three commanders whom Clarendon has condescended to call "the three most eminent sea-

[1] This plurality, was no other than the *οἱ περὶ Cromwell*, or Cromwell himself; who, though he gulled the nation with a nominal parliament, was determined it should have no efficiency that might in any degree restrain or embarrass his individual usurpation.

"officers under Cromwell—Ascue, Penn, and Law-"son," were not employed under Cromwell, but were withdrawn from the service which they had contributed so mainly to exalt; whilst Cromwell, at the same time, was abundantly reaping the fruits of their gallant and triumphant labours.

But Blake—the amphibious Blake—was not withdrawn; and the passive valour by which that extraordinary man first became renowned in the defence of Taunton, as a soldier, was now continuing, in its active form, to render the admiral-standard of England a terror on the seas. Blake's great achievements imparted strength and lustre to the protectorate; yet, it was not the glory of Cromwell that urged him on to their execution, but the glory of his adopted and beloved navy.

His fleet, at his first departure, in 1654, had consisted of the following ships; but it had been since increased, and some captains had changed their ships.

Names of Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Captains.
George	350	60	Robert Blake, General, * John Stokes, Captain.
Andrew	300	54	Rich. Badely, Vice-Adm.
Unicorn	300	54	* Joseph Jordan, Rear-Adm.
Lambert	260	50	* Roger Cuttance.
Hampshire	160	34	Robert Blake.
Bridgewater	260	50	* Anth. Earning.
Foresight	160	36	* Peter Mootham.
Worcester	240	46	* William Hill.
Plymouth	260	50	* Richard Stayner.
Kentish	170	40	Edward Witheridge.
Diamond	160	36	* John Harman.
[illegible]	160	36	* Tho. Vallis.
[illegible]	160	36	* Edm. Curtis.

Names of Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Captains.
Newcastle	180	40	Nath. Cobham.
Amity	120	30	* Henry Pack.
Mermaid	100	22	James Ableson.
Pearl	100	22	Ben. Sacheverell.
Maidstone	140	32	Tho. Adams.
Princess Mary	150	34	John Lloyd.
Elias	140	32	John Symonds.
Nonsuch ketch	30	10	
Success	60	24	William Kendall.
Hector	35	16	
Dolphin	45	16	John Smith.
Sophia	60	24	* Robert Kirby.

N.B. Those marked with an asterisk, had commanded ships in the Downs' fleet in the victories of 1653; many of the others had probably then served as lieutenants.

"On the 4th of April, 1655," says Colliber, "Blake, "who had been sent with a squadron of men-of-war "into the Straits, spread the terror of the English "sea forces over all those parts.—For, sailing to the "coast of Africa, he sent to the Dey of Tunis to "demand the release of all the English slaves; as "also, satisfaction for the ships that had been taken "by the corsairs of that place, during the time of our "civil wars. But, receiving a very insolent answer "from the dey, a council of war was called; wherein "it was resolved, to attempt the destroying nine of "the Moorish frigates which lay in Porto Ferino. "This was a work of great difficulty; for, batteries "were raised along the shore, planted with a hun-"dred and twenty pieces of cannon, and the har-"bour was defended by a fort with twenty pieces, "besides several other lesser forts well provided with "cannon and small arms. But the admiral, vice-"admiral, and rear-admiral, casting anchor within

" musket-shot of the main fort, and firing whole " broadsides on the enemy's forts and batteries, while " the other men-of-war brought on the fire-ships and " sloops, the design was executed with such courage " and success, that, within the space of four hours, " all the Moorish ships were burnt down to the " water, notwithstanding the great fire of the enemy; " with the loss of no more than twenty-five men " killed, and forty-eight wounded. Upon which, the " dey was disposed to seek the friendship of Eng- " land; and to release, not only the English, but the " Dutch slaves, for very moderate ransoms." The burning of the ships, says Heath, " was done by boats " from every ship, during this hot service achieved " in this honourable manner."

With Blake, was now associated Colonel Edward Mountagu, as has been already stated, who was making his first voyage at sea; not to learn practical seamanship, for which acquirement he was too far advanced in life,[1] but to witness naval heroism in action, in prosecuting which glorious example, he afterwards lamentably, but honourably perished.

But, both those gallant soldiers were wholly indebted, for their success and their renown on the seas, to the exercised skill and well-proved valour of the victorious seamen over whom they were now placed; and, of these, of none more signally than of the

[1] " Mr. ——," says Collingwood, " has written to me about a young gen- " tleman who wishes to enter into the navy; but at *nineteen* years of age it is " far too late." (Letter to J. E. Blackett, Esq., June 14th, 1807.) Colonel Mountagu, we have seen, was in his *thirtieth* year, when he first entered that service, with a command.

brave Captain Richard Stayner,[1] whose achievement, in September of this year, was thus reported to Secretary Thurloe by General Mountagu.[2]

General Mountagu to Secretary Thurloe.

"Sir,

"The Lord hath been pleased to afford an occasion of writing to you sooner than I thought of, with so much safety and on so good an account. Blessed be his name, who hath looked upon the low condition of the nation, and hath turned the reproaches of wicked men with shame upon their own faces. Indeed, my heart is very much warmed with the apprehension of the singular providence of God, in bringing this about for us in so seasonable a time (as, I doubt not, you will experiment in England), as also the considerableness of the thing itself; which mercies, I trust, He will be pleased to perfect, by giving all a safe passage and conveyance to you in England. The Lord keep a thankful heart in us, for these and other his wonderful favours.

"On Wednesday last (September 17th), late at night, we received an account from the squadron we left before Cales, of their meeting with the King of Spain's West India fleet, and the success of their encounter with them; concerning which I refer you to our letter to his highness, whereby you will have a copy of Captain Stayner's letter to us. Here is now on board us the eldest son of the Marquess of Baydex,[3]

[1] Captain Richard Stayner, descended from a most respectable family at Droitwich, in Worcestershire, had commanded the *Foresight* frigate of 42 guns, in Penn's white squadron, in the victories of 1653. He was knighted by Cromwell, 11th June, 1657, for his valour on the occasion we are about to recite, and was appointed vice-admiral. He was re-knighted by Charles the Second, after his restoration, in September 1660, and was rear-admiral in the fleet that brought his majesty to England.

[2] A Select Collection of Original Letters, &c. 12mo. 1755. vol. i. p. 202.

[3] Heath writes *Badajòx*, Mountagu *Baydex*, and Stayner *Vaydes*; *b* and *v* being commutable letters in Spanish.

with whom I have had much conference; he is but sixteen years of age, born in the Indies, a most pregnant, ingenious, learned youth as I have met with; and whose story is the saddest that ever I heard of, or read of, to my remembrance. From discourse with him, I give you the enclosed account (for the most part). I shall only observe to you a single (singular) providence, in bringing the ships in to ours.

"The Portugal prize they took near the Western Islands, upon their inquiry, told them that the English fleet were all gone home; and gave them such assurance thereof (I suppose, upon the sight of our party going for Lisbon), that they steered directly for Cales, and there (as I hear) they saw a *barca-longa* coming out of St. Lucas, as they passed by the bar; but being confident of their information, sailed on for Cales, and in the evening met with our ships, and kept company with them all night, and kept their lights out, and shooting of guns, as they used to do; and mistrusted them not to be English, until our ships bore up to them, and God gave opportunity of what was done.

"There is mention of the Marquis of Baydex in the vice-admiral; concerning him, understand this sad story, and true. He was born eighteen leagues off Madrid, in Spain, of a noble family, but their fortunes consumed. The King of Spain made him governor of Chili, which he continued nine years, then removed him to govern the kingdom of Lima, which he did fourteen years; and now, having gotten a considerable estate, and his time of government expired, and being sent for home, was embarked, with his whole family and wealth in this fleet, for Spain, where he was to have been made governor of Cadiz. By the enclosed paper, you may perceive the event of the vice-admiral (ship), wherein they were. In the fire, the marquess's lady, and one of his daughters, fell down in a swoon, and were burned. The marquess himself had opportunity to have escaped; but, seeing his lady and his daughter, whom he loved exceedingly, in that case, said he

would die where they died, and, embracing his lady, was burned also with them. The young gentleman, here on board, is thus left without father, mother, or means (having none in Spain, nor in the Indies), and you see how much he lost in this ship; and I believe he hath little less taken by us in bars of silver (as is reported); himself born in the Indies, and so not known to any person in Spain.

"We have sent out four frigates to help to bring in the galleons, and to go and strengthen our guard before Cales. The Lord send a good issue to all!

Your very humble servant,

"E. MOUNTAGU.

"September 19th, 1656,
Aboard the *Nazeby*, in the bay of Wyers."

Captain Richard Stayner to the Generals of the Fleet.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"After my service presented to your honours, these are to acquaint you, that upon the 8th instant, at night, it blew hard, westerly, by means whereof we, with our squadron (only the *Providence*, she being gone to water), weighed out of the bay of Cadiz, and plied to sea. In the evening we espied eight sail some five or six leagues to the westward of Cadiz, we using the best means that we could to meet with them the next day; which we did; it being little wind at N.E. It was nine of the clock before we came up with them; but having a fresh gale in the night, all but we and the *Bridgewater* were to the leeward, and could not come up to us. But when we came to the fleet, it proved to be the Spanish fleet come from the West Indies, which were four of the King of Spain's, three merchantmen, and one prize, which they had taken by way of the Western Islands, being a Portuguese, which was eight in all. We engaged the fleet, but being within four leagues of Cadiz, could not stay for our ships;

but we, the *Bridgewater* and *Plymouth*, engaged them, and had a sharp dispute, some of us. But the admiral being the smallest ship, we slighted her, for we conceived there was some policy used in the flag; by which means the admiral and the Portuguese prize got into Cadiz. The vice-admiral, and one more, we sunk, and burnt two; we took one. The captain of her, which we have on board, saith she hath in her two millions of silver. The vice-admiral hath as much, I do believe. The *Plymouth* chased another, who came ashore near St. Peter's and Cape Degar; but it seems, by the prisoner's information, they had no silver in her. The ship we took is as good as all the fleet besides. The other, that Captain Harman hath taken, is very rich; but little silver in her. Both the prize and our ship are sorely wounded, both in masts and hull. The commanders advise me not to take the silver out of her. I do intend to take further advice about it. There is no news, only I believe the fleet will follow us: the galleys came out. Because of the riches, and disability of our ship, we will come towards you, except your honours send further orders; for we are in no capacity to stay here. I shall leave two or three of the best sailing ships off the Cape, and I and the rest will come to Lisbon, where I hope to find your honours. There is the Nova Spaniola fleet at the Havanna, but when they will come home is not known. This is all; only there is loss of men in some ships, the number I know not. I am,

"Your honours' humble servant,

"RIC. STAYNER.

"From on board the *Speaker*, in haste,
this 9th of September, 1656."

"*The names of the chiefest commanders and persons that I have been informed were taken in the two ships, and other two sunk and burnt by some six sail of frigates,*[1] *under the command of General Blake.*

"10th of September, 1656.

"Six Spanish ships that came from the Havanna, laden with gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones, hides, indigo, sugar, cochinello, little varinas, and tobacco; came from the West Indies in fifty-eight days; made no land, nor touched at any place. They took by the way one little Frenchman, laden with hides; another small ship that came from Portugal for the Eastern Islands, laden with wheat; both which prizes they brought along with them to the place where they were taken. When they took the Portugal ship, they asked them, where the English fleet was? Their answer was, that their countrymen, the Spaniard, did beat them off the coast a month before: so they came for Cadiz, not doubting any thing, where they saw our six frigates, which seemed to them as fisher-boats: so they bore up to them, thinking to have put the plate out which was not registered. Some of our frigates engaged with them; burnt one presently. The vice-admiral fought six hours; the Spaniards say our men set her on fire, so they sunk her, but our men took out of her much gold and silver before she sunk. There was killed one hundred and ten men, whereof the chiefest was a marquis, called, in Spanish, *El Marquis de Vaydés y Conde de Pedorozo*, governor of Lima, in New Spain, for many years: he brought with him 800,000 pieces of eight. He and his wife were burnt; also one son, and one daughter of fifteen years of age. Our men took up three sons and two daughters, whereof his eldest son was a marquis. They are all prisoners. The

[1] The annotator to Evelyn calls this engagement, "Fight at sea by General "Montague;" yet we here see, that neither Blake nor Mountagu were present in it.

eldest daughter was to be married to the Duke of Medina Celi's son; the other daughter was to be married to Don Juan de Joyas, commander of the galleon that we have taken.

"The galleon that is taken, whereof Don Juan de Joyas was commander, was about 500 tons; had in her 350 men, which are prisoners. Their general was a small frigate of about 200 tons, who, being to windward of our ships, got into Cales with one of their small prizes which they had taken. The other two, our men say, are run ashore, and lost: no certainty of this, until our ships come from Lagos. As concerning the true value of their ships taken, is not justly known; but, by the calculation of the Spaniards, there is taken, and lost, some nine millions of pieces of eight; so they conceive may be taken, some five millions of pieces of eight."

(R. S.)

A more afflicting example of the tragical consequences of war cannot be cited, than this of the unfortunate Vaydes, or Badajox.

Waller, in his poem entitled "Of our late War with Spain," thus commemorated this melancholy victory.

"Bold were the men which on the ocean first
Spread their new sails, when shipwreck was the worst:
More danger now from man alone we find,
Than from the rocks, the billows, and the wind.
They that had sailed from near th' Antarctic Pole,
Their treasure safe, and all their vessels whole,
In sight of their dear country ruin'd be,
Without the guilt of either rock or sea!
What they would spare, our fiercer art destroys,
Surpassing storms in terror and in noise.
Once, Jove from Ida did both hosts survey,
And, when he pleased to thunder, part the fray;
Here Heaven, in vain that kind retreat should sound —
The louder cannon had the thunder drown'd.

Some we made prize; while others, burnt and rent,
With their rich lading to the bottom went:
Down sinks at once (so Fortune with us sports)
The pay of armies, and the pride of courts.
Vain man! whose rage buries as low that store
As Avarice had digg'd for it before:
What Earth in her dark bowels could not keep
From greedy hands, lies safer in the deep,
Where Thetis kindly doth from mortals hide
Those seeds of luxury, debate, and pride.
" And now, into her lap the richest prize
Fell, with the noblest of our enemies:
The Marquis (glad to see the fire destroy
Wealth that prevailing foes were to enjoy)
Out from his flaming ship his children sent,
To perish in a milder element:
Then laid him by his burning lady's side,
And, since he could not save her, with her died.
Spices and gums about them melting fry,
And, phœnix-like, in that rich nest they die.
Alive, in flames of equal love they burn'd,
And now, together are to ashes turn'd:
Ashes! more worth than all their funeral cost—
Than the huge treasure which with them was lost.
These dying lovers, and their floating sons,
Suspend the flight, and silence all our guns.
Beauty and youth, about to perish, finds
Such noble pity in brave English minds,
That (the rich spoil forgot—their valour's prize)
All labour now, to save their enemies.
How frail our passions! how soon changed are
Our wrath and fury to a friendly care!
They, that but now for honour and for plate
Made the sea blush with blood, resign their hate;
And, their young foes endeavouring to retrieve,
With greater hazard than they fought, they dive.
With these returns victorious MONTAGU,
With laurels in his hand, and half Peru."

We have seen Mountagu's testimony, under his own hand, that he was no party in this transaction;[1] that

[1] " A letter from Captain Stayner to General Blake and General Montague, " sent by them to the protector, wherein was an account of the engagement

it was effected by a squadron cruising off Cadiz, by the sole enterprise of Captain Stayner and his brave colleagues, whilst Mountagu himself was riding at anchor in the bay of Wyers.[1] Nevertheless, the transaction is thus delivered to history by the author of the *Columna Rostrata:*—"Admiral Montague (afterwards "Earl of Sandwich), cruising off Cadiz, with three "men-of-war, met and attacked seven Spanish gal-"leons, as they were returning from America. Of "these, one was sunk, one burnt, two stranded, as "many taken; and only one escaped to Cadiz, toge-"ther with a prize which they had taken in their "passage from the Portuguese. The riches on board "the ships that were taken, were said to amount to "two or three millions of pieces of eight. This "action is immortalised by the celebrated pen of "Mr. Waller;" he might have added, "with base "adulation and untruth." Well might the gallant Stayner have taken for his motto—"*Feci, tulit alter honorem;*" but, from henceforth, that honour will cleave to his memory.

"with the West-Indian Spanish fleet; that the vice-admiral and one more "were sunk, and two burnt, and one taken, and that the captain saith, she "hath in her two millions of silver, and that it was believed the vice-admiral "had as much."—WHITELOCK, p. 653.

[1] Probably, "*Aveir* or *Aveiro* Bay, coast of Portugal, ten leagues south "from Oporto."—MALHAM'S *Nav. Gaz.*

1657.

On the 20th of April of this year, Blake, with his valiant seamen, achieved their last united exploit against the Spaniards, at Santa Cruz, in the Island of Teneriffe.

" Of all the desperate attempts that ever were " made in the world against an enemy by sea (says " Heath) this of the noble Blake's is not inferior to " any. He lying upon the Spanish coast, had in- " telligence given him, that the West India fleet " were arrived at the Canary islands, and put into " the bay of Santa Cruz, on the island of Teneriffe. " Upon this, the fleet weighed anchor on the 13th " of April, 1657, and by the 20th of the same month " were fair in the offing of Santa Cruz, where they " discovered how bravely the Spanish ships (sixteen " in number) were barricadoed in this bay, where " they lay in a manner semicircular. Near to the " mouth of this haven stands a castle, sufficiently " furnished with great ordnance, which threatened " destruction to any that durst enter without its " leave into the harbour. Besides this, there stood " seven forts more round about the bay, with six, " four, and three great guns a-piece; and united " together by a line of communication from one fort " to another, which was manned with musqueteers. " To make all safe, Don Diego Diagues, general of " the Spanish fleet, was not idle in making provision " for the best defence of his armada: he caused all " the smaller ships to be moored close along the

" shore, and the six great galleons stood further out,
" at anchor, with their broadsides towards the sea.
" It happened, at this time, there was a Dutch
" merchant's ship in the bay; the master whereof,
" seeing the English ready to enter, and that a
" combat would presently be commenced, it made
" him fear, that among all the blows that would be
" given, he could not avoid some knocks; therefore,
" to save himself, he went to Don Diego, and de-
" sired his leave to depart the harbour; 'For,' said
" he, 'I am very sure Blake will presently be
" 'amongst you.' To this, the resolute Don made
" no other reply, but, 'Get you gone, if you will;
" 'and let Blake come, if he dares.'

" They that knew Blake's courage, could not but
" know it needless to dare him to an engagement.
" All things being ordered for fight, a squadron of
" ships was drawn out of the whole fleet to make
" the first onset; these were commanded by Captain
" Stayner,[1] in the *Speaker* frigate, who no sooner
" had received orders, but immediately he flew into
" the bay with his canvass wings, and by eight in
" the morning fell pell-mell upon the Spanish fleet,
" without the least regard to the forts, that spent
" their shot prodigally upon him. No sooner were
" these entered into the bay, but Blake following
" after, placed certain ships to pour broadsides into
" the castle and forts. These played their parts so

1 " The general," says Clarendon, " sent Captain Stayner with a squadron " of the best ships, to fall on the galleons, which he did very resolutely. Then " the general coming up with the whole fleet, after full four hours' fight, they " drove the Spaniards from their ships, and possessed them."—Vol. iii. p. 600.

" well, that after some time the Spaniards found " their forts too hot to be held. In the mean time, " Blake strikes in with Stayner, and bravely fought " the Spanish ships, which were not inferior in " number to the English, but in men they were far " the superior. Here we see, a resolute bravery " many times may carry the day, and make numbers " lie by the lee; this was manifest, for, by two of " the clock in the afternoon, the English had beaten " their enemies out of their ships.

" Now, Blake seeing an impossibility of carrying " them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes; " which was done so effectually, that all the Spanish " fleet were reduced to ashes, except two ships that " sunk outright, nothing remaining of them above " water but some part of their masts.

" The English having now got a complete vic- " tory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, " which blew so strong into the bay, that many " despaired of getting out again. But God's pro- " vidence was miraculously seen, in causing the " wind upon the sudden to veer about to the south- " west, (a thing not known in many years before); " which brought Blake and his fleet safe to sea " again; notwithstanding the Spaniards from the " castle played their great guns perpetually upon " them, as they passed by. The wind, as it proved " a friend to bring the English forth, so it continued " to carry them back again to their former station " near to Cadiz."[1]

[1] Chronicle, pp. 391, 2.

The name of a chief commander generally monopolises all the glory of a great warlike action; but, what would the bravest conceptions and the most ardent aspirations of Blake have effected in this splendid naval operation, had he not been accompanied by a Stayner, and the practised sea-warriors of the Dutch war? It would be difficult to imagine an occasion in which the successful execution must have depended more entirely, in its details, on naval skill and expertness, that is, on practical seamanship. This bold and heroic achievement is not, therefore, to be contemplated in the Quixotic spirit of the age that transmitted it. We may be sure, that Blake did not design to sacrifice his ships and men for the destruction of those of the enemy; that he had previously consulted with Stayner, and his naval council of war, on the means of bringing off the ships; and that those able and experienced seamen had ascertained, that after silencing the forts and destroying the enemy's ships, they would be able to bring the fleet out of the bay with the ebb-tide. But, the wind becoming suddenly and unexpectedly favourable, they preferred the speedier course of running an enfeebled and indestructive gauntlet.

"Blake," observes Dr. Lingard, "may claim the "peculiar praise of having dispelled an illusion "which had hitherto cramped the operations of the "British navy; a persuasion, that it was little short "of madness to expose a ship at sea to the fire of a "battery on shore. The victories of Blake at Tunis "and Vera Cruz served to establish the contrary

" doctrine; and the seamen learned, from his ex-
" ample, to despise the danger which had hitherto
" been deemed so formidable." This current notion derives its origin from the passage of Clarendon already cited and considered,[1] and from no other source. At Vera Cruz, the example was certainly set by Stayner, and was followed by Blake; so that, if the boldness of the conception was Blake's, the execution was Stayner's. There is no ground whatever for the statement, that the English seamen had previously deemed it " little short of madness to ex-
" pose a ship to the fire of a battery on shore." We have seen, that in the attack on Jamaica, in the preceding year, the sea-general ran his ship close under the battery, in order to silence it, as a professional operation in course, not surmising that it would be immediately deserted; for, as Commissioner Butler reported, " much opposition might have been ex-
" pected;" and he was prepared to do the same thing with the fleet at St. Domingo, if the army would have advanced to the assault. The illusion, therefore, was not in the seamen; but in Clarendon, who adventured to expatiate on a subject for which he was wholly incompetent.

This was the last glory of the illustrious Blake. The distempered and decayed condition both of his health and of his ships, obliged him to return to England, leaving eight ships under the command of Captain Stokes; and, just as his own flag-ship, the *George*, was entering Plymouth Sound, he expired on

[1] Vol. i. p. 410–412.

board, on the 17th of August, in the sixtieth year of his age. "He was interred," says Heath, "in Henry "the Seventh's Chapel, as other of the grandees that "died in the usurpation usually were; without any "other monument, than that of his indelible renown "for pure valour." It is true, that his remains were removed, with the others, from the royal vault, after the restoration; but not (as his angry biographer writes) "hauled out, and cast into a pit." The remains of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were, indeed, removed with contumely; the other bodies were buried in a common grave; but that of Blake, we are assured by Bishop Kennet, was simply withdrawn from the royal mausoleum, and interred in a separate grave in the churchyard. We cannot, however, but deeply lament, that it was not deposited within the abbey. Yet, the mere removal of the bodies cannot create reasonable surprise, or serious offence, to a sensible mind; since bodies are often removed for various causes, and the vault, in which all those had been irregularly laid, had been specially appropriated to the family of the reigning sovereign. Blake's name, however, received its due meed of honour from all parties; as he did not live to experience the unworthy effects of the jealousies and feuds that followed the restoration.

We find, by the following letter, that in the autumn of this year General Penn was residing on his estate at Macromp, in the county of Cork.

"*These for his Excellency the Lord Henry Cromwell, humbly presented.*[1]

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"Having received information that your excellency hath been pleased to appoint commissioners for setting his highness's lands in these parts, for some term of years; and forasmuch as several parcels thereof are not only contiguous, but (as I may say) interwoven with those (of the little interest) I have in Macromp and Killcrea; which, should they be let unto any other, would certainly be my very great inconvenience, and probably my discomfort; the preventing whereof, with the hope I have of tenanting them with English (for which a former foundation hath been laid), is the grand advantage that I do eye. For obtaining whereof, is here very humbly presented the prayer of

"Your Excellency's most faithful
and ever obedient servant,

"Macromp,[2] 9th November, 1657." "W. P.

There can be no reason to doubt, that this application met with a fair and courteous attention from the amiable Henry Cromwell, who had been sent by his father to Ireland, with the ostensible commission of major-general of the army; but with a secret commission of lord-deputy and commander-in-chief, which last he did not produce till the 24th or 25th of the same month of November.

The castle and estate of Macromp, had been the ancient possession of Macarthy, Lord Muskerry,

[1] The original is in the British Museum, among the Lansdown MSS.

[2] Smith, in his "Ancient and Present State of the County of Cork," (vol. i. p. 180,) speaking of the castle of Macromp (*Macroom*), erroneously says: "Sir William Penn, the famous sea-admiral, was born in it;" which error is copied into Carlisle's Topographical Dictionary of Ireland.

afterwards created Earl of Clancarty, general of the Roman catholic rebel forces;[1] and it was probably the indemnification assigned by the lord-deputy and council in Ireland to General Penn, whilst employed on his expedition to the West Indies, in consequence of Cromwell's recommendatory letter of the 4th December, 1654.[2] Immediately after the restoration, Sir W. Penn surrendered that property, by the king's order, to its ancient owner; and received, also by the king's order, a proportionate compensation in another part.[3] It appears, by indentures of lease and release "between the Right Hon. Roger Boyle, Lord Brog-"hill, of the one part, and William Penn (described "of Chigwell, in the county of Essex), esquire, of the "other part," bearing date the 31st of July, 1657, that the latter this year purchased of Lord Broghill some estates in the barony of Muskerry, and county of Cork.

Whether he was again employed at sea this year, is a questionable point. Clarendon asserts, that he was never employed again by Cromwell, after his release from the Tower; and yet I find among Thurloe's State Papers, under the date of the 9th March, 1657-8, the following letter from

"*M. Nieuport, the Dutch Ambassador in England, to the States General.*

"HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

"My lords, since my last, here are letters come from the fleet under General Penn, advising, that the same was in

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 188. [2] See above, p. 20. [3] See Appendix N.

very great danger, through a violent tempest, wherewith they were almost driven upon the shore, it being very misty weather, so that they could not see whereabouts they were; and if so be that one of the foremost of the fleet, a small vessel, had not perceived a high cliff by a sudden flash of light, which presently turned and gave notice to all the next, they had been all stranded and lost. Yesterday, I was told, that there were yet other letters from the said general, wherein he adviseth, that his fleet hath suffered very great damage in their cables, anchors, and sails, desiring that orders may be given to supply them speedily with new ones: also, that they had taken four or five prizes, but of no considerable value: and, that a gunner, mate of one of the frigates in the said fleet, had designed to blow up the frigate in which he served; and to that end, he had laid some powder, and had lighted his match, which was come something near, but was timely discovered; and he, having acknowledged the fact, was hanged up. I am informed, that there be commissioners appointed to go to view all the ships that lie here in the river, which are fit to serve the State, they having resolved to set forth thirty ships more, wheresoever they can get them, for the service of the State.

"Westminster, March 9th, 1657."

I have not been able to ascertain, whether there is error in Clarendon's statement, or in the date of Nieuport's despatch; nor, to what expedition the despatch alludes. If the date of the letter is correct, Clarendon's statement is erroneous, since Cromwell was still living; if Clarendon is correct, the printed date of Nieuport's letter must be incorrect.

1658.

April 18, died Robert, Earl of Warwick, twice Lord High Admiral of England, ("presently," says Heath, "after the espousals of his grandson, young "Mr. Rich, with Frances, the youngest daughter of "the Protector"), and was interred with his ancestors at Felstead, in Essex.[1] I find, on inquiry, that although this noble earl had filled so eminent a station during his life, there exists no monument to his memory. He is styled by May, the historian of the Parliament, "a man of courage, of religious life, and "known fidelity to his country;" and Dr. Calamy, in his Funeral Sermon, pronounced him to be "one "of the best-natured noblemen in England, of ex-"emplary piety, and eminent integrity and charity." But Clarendon must needs deny him that character, by affirming, that "a man of less virtue could not be "found out."[2]

June 25.—The Spanish garrison of Dunkirk capitulated to the combined forces of England and France, and was delivered up into the hands of the English, by Lewis XIV. and Cardinal Mazarin in person, in conformity to the treaty which Cromwell had formed with that monarch. He had furnished a body of 6000 men, at the requisition of the French king, to co-operate with the French troops, and this was the only foreign European service that Cromwell's land-forces ever saw; in which, however, his soldiers

[1] THURLOE, vol. vi. [2] History, vol. ii. p. 210. 8vo.

bravely maintained the reputation acquired by the English name in former ages: "the English com-"manders (observes Heath) being desirous withal to "shew the discipline of their own country, which is, "to make seeing and fighting all one."[1] There is a letter from Cromwell to Sir William Lockhart, his ambassador at Paris, of the preceding year, which shews how much he doubted the fulfilment of the treaty, in this particular, by the French monarch.

"Whitehall, 31st August, 1657.

"SIR,

"I have seen your last letter to Mr. Secretary (Thurloe), as also divers others; and although I have no doubt either of your diligence or ability to serve us in so great a business, yet I am deeply sensible that the French are very much short of us in ingenuity (*ingenuousness*) and performance. And that which increases our sense is, the resolution we had, rather to overdo than to be behindhand in any thing of our treaty. And although we never were so foolish to apprehend that the French and their interests were the same with ours in all things, yet, as to the Spaniard, who hath been known in all ages to be the most implacable enemy that France hath, we never could doubt (i. e. *suspect*), before we made our treaty, that, going upon such grounds, we should have been foiled as we are. To talk of giving us garrisons which are inland, as caution for future action; to talk of what will be done next campaign, are but parcels of words for children. If they will give us garrisons, let them give us Calais, Dieppe, and Boulogne, which I think they will do as soon as be honest in their words of giving us one Spanish garrison upon the coast into our hands. I positively think, which I say to you, they are afraid we should have any footing on that side, though Spanish.

[1] Page 405.

I pray you tell the Cardinal from me, that I think, if France desires to maintain her ground, much more to get ground upon the Spaniard, the performance of his treaty with us will better do it, than any thing appears yet to me of any design he hath. Though we cannot so well pretend to soldiery as those who are with him, yet we think that we, being able by sea to strengthen and secure his siege, and reinforce it as we please by sea, and the enemy in a capacity to do nothing to relieve it, that the best time to besiege that place will be now; especially, if we consider that the French horse will be able so to ruin Flanders, as that no succour can be brought to relieve the place; and that the French army and our own will have constant relief, as far as England and France can give it, without any manner of impediment; especially, considering the Dutch are now engaged so much to the southward, as they are."[1]

The unexpected fulfilment of the treaty by the French, was, therefore, a cause of great elation to Cromwell. "The Cardinal at Dunkirk," says Heath, "diverted himself with the '*Delightful Wonder*,' the "*Nazeby*, as he, at his treatment on board the same "by General Mountagu, expressed himself." Little did Cromwell forecast, in his exultation at that conquest, that, within two years, the same splendid ship, under the name of the *Charles*, and under the command of the same favourite, Mountagu, would bring back the rightful king to occupy the seat of power which he had usurped; that, within four months, he himself would be consigned to a royal vault, to be from thence withdrawn and transferred to Tyburn; and that, in less than four years, his new acquisition of

[1] A Select Collection of Original Letters, &c., vol. i. pp. 212, 213.

Dunkirk would be alienated for ever to France, under the administration of the exiled Clarendon returned from exile, and governing in the state councils of England!

September 3*d.*—Died at Whitehall, after five feverish and restless years of delusive glory and usurped sovereignty, Oliver Williams, *alias* Cromwell,[1] nominal Protector of the Commonwealth of England. It is well known, that his death took place on the anniversary of his birth, and of his two great domestic victories, of Dunbar and Worcester. His glory in the eyes of Europe, and the consequent influence he acquired in foreign councils, he owed entirely to a victorious and commanding navy, which bore him no affection; but, he had so artfully and intimately implicated himself with their country, which they loved, that their noble exertions to exalt the latter inevitably raised him to the same measure of exaltation, of which advantage his extraordinary genius knew well how to avail itself. It was not he, therefore, that raised his country to glory, as has been heedlessly said; it was his country's navy that raised him: but, it was as Sinbad the Sailor raised the old man of the island in the Arabian Nights, and with similar

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 77, *note* 2. The *Mercurius Publicus* of July 12–19, 1660, has the following article: "His Majesty hath given leave unto Henry "Williams, *alias* Cromwell, of Ramsay, in the county of Huntingdon, to leave "out the *alias Cromwell.* It is therefore desired you would take notice, that "this Mr. Henry Williams is grandchild to Sir Oliver Williams, and son to "Colonel Williams, a commander in his late Majesty's army, to whom only "(with his family) this favour is granted." Noble does not advert to this license of the Crown, but simply says, that this Henry dropped the name of *Cromwell.*

[2] Page 306.

feelings and aspirations towards their lord. Had he been only known to Europe by the domestic achievements of his army, his name would have acquired neither weight nor respect among foreign nations; and this he virtually confessed in his letter to Lockhart, when he directed the attention of Cardinal Mazarin, not to his "*soldiery*" but to his power "*by sea.*" His alliance with France, was founded on a common principle of usurpation: the French court was then commencing its project of usurping in the commonwealth of Europe, as he had, himself, usurped in the commonwealth of England; and Mazarin shrewdly discerned, that a usurper was the best ally for furthering his ambitious views of policy. It is justly remarked by Sir William Coventry, that the balance of Europe was then thrown to "the side of France by the means "of Cromwell, who, for a separate interest of his own, "had sacrificed that of the nation; by joining with "the stronger side, to suppress the power of Spain "which he ought to have supported:" but, "such a "method (he adds) was natural enough to a usurper, "and shewed he was not the father of the people, by "taking so little care of them."[1]

His secretary, Thurloe, in announcing his death to his son, Henry Cromwell, on the 4th, thus expressed himself: "I am not able to speak or write; this stroke "is so sore, so unexpected, the providence of God in it "so stupendous, considering the person that is fallen, "the time and season wherein God took him away, "with other circumstances, I can do nothing but put

[1] Character of a Trimmer, Part iv.

" my mouth in the dust, and say, 'It is the Lord!' " It is not to be said, what affection the army and all " people shew to his late Highness: his name is " already precious. Never was there any man so " prayed for as he was, during his sickness; solemn " assembly-meetings every day, to beseech the Lord " for the continuance of his life; so that he is gone " to heaven, embalmed with the tears of his people, " and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints. " He lived desired, and died lamented; every body " bemoaning themselves, and saying, 'A great man is " 'fallen in Israel!'" In a letter of condolence and consolation, dated, *Ballymallo, September* 17*th*, Lord Broghill thus wrote to the afflicted secretary, in the style of the Protectoral court: " I think sorrow for " friends less tolerable when they are a-dying, than " after they are dead. David's servants reasoned as " ill, as he did well; they concluded, if his grief were " such when the child was but in danger of death, " what would it be when he knew it was dead? He " took and considered the thing another way: whilst " there was life, that is, whilst the will of God was " not declared, he thought it a duty to endeavour to " move the mercy of God by his prayers and sorrow; " but, when God's pleasure was declared, he knew it " was a duty cheerfully to yield unto it. I know, in " the cause of grief now before us, I am the unfittest " of any to offer comfort, which I need as much as " any; and I know 'tis as unfit to offer to present it " to you, who, as you need it most of any, so you are " able to afford it others above any; however, this one

" consideration of David's actings I could not but lay " before you, it having proved an effectual consola- " tion to me, in the death of one I too much loved."[1] The consolation it wrought in Broghill, was indeed most effectual, and lasting.

" The 22d of October (says the unjesting and " veridical Evelyn) I saw the superb funeral of the " Protector: it was the joyfullest funeral I ever saw, " for there were none that cried but dogs, which the " soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drink- " ing and taking tobacco in the streets as they " went."

Yet, when abstracted from the usurper, and dispossessed for the moment of the demon of ambition, and of the artifice, violence, and cruelty to which it drove him, and which seared the tears of the public; he appears, like Napoleon, to have had some qualities that could attach individuals to his person, and let loose the tears of filial affection and of friendship. To his family, in all its members, he was kindly attached; and bore with singular temper the remonstrances, and even reproaches, of those amongst them who dared to profess to his face their affection for the august family which he excluded from the throne. He was the father of some estimable children, who inherited whatever good qualities he had received from nature; without any of those which overgrew and smothered them in him.

[1] These letters of Thurloe and Broghill, are in the " Select Collection," &c., cited above, vol. i. pp. 235 and 243.

1659.

There is no period in the history of any country more embroiled with perplexity, than the year which followed Cromwell's death, and immediately preceded the Restoration of the kingdom. The cause of that perplexity, was the endeavour of those contemporary historians whose writings acquired the chief ascendency, to tell a whole story, omitting one moiety of the facts which alone can render it intelligible. As the omission was not accidental, or any result of ignorance in those historians, but proceeded from a deliberate desire to suppress the share which the navy of the parliament took in bringing about that great work, I shall, in justice to that truly patriotic service, here bring forward into prominent view all the governing facts which those writers have excluded from their records.

The absence of all regular government, after the compulsory abdication of the protectorate by Richard Cromwell, and the assumption of the power usurped by the army, which had sprung up like a hydra from the blood of their late chief, kept the country, in all its parties, in a state of ceaseless ebullition, and proportionately excited a thirst for tranquillity and repose; but, the means of obtaining that repose was not within the horizon of ordinary discernment. A general longing prevailed, that the key-stone should at length be restored to the shattered arch of the kingdom; but this was rather an ideal wish, than a

practical counsel. Though the king himself was an object of the most earnest desire, the party of the cavaliers was an object of equal offence and dread. These wished to identify themselves with the king, but the sound bulk of the nation viewed them with a very wide distinction; indeed, a distinction as great, as between the husbandman who wishes for the sun that it may ripen his corn, and the *lazzarone* who wishes for it that he may bask in its beams. Every thought, therefore, that tended to the bringing back the king, was neutralised *in ovo* by the fear of giving triumph to an exasperated party, who might wreak and glut their vengeance on those whom they regarded as having excluded them, either from home, estate, or power. In this perplexing state of things, some sound heads were found in the nation who sought for a means of settlement that should be free from the intrigues and violences both of the cavaliers and of the army. Only one such means existed, in the nature of things, and it revealed itself to the intelligence of those gifted individuals; namely, to reduce all the authority of the state again into the hands of a legitimate parliament, from whence the regeneration of the kingdom might issue forth.

But, how was this to be effected? Four successive assemblies, assuming the name of *parliaments*,[1] had,

[1] The first of these, denominated *Barebone's* parliament, met July 5th, and dissolved themselves Dec. 12th, 1653.
The second met September 3d, 1654, and held to January 22d following.
The third met September 17th, 1656, sat to June 26th, 1657, adjourned to January 20th, and, after fifteen days, was dissolved February 4th, 1657-8.
The fourth was called by R. Cromwell, January 27th, 1658, and by him dissolved April 22d, 1659.—*Notitia*, &c.

indeed, been convened during the late usurpation; but all these, the principles of our ancient government repudiated, as altogether spurious in their origin and nature.

But the parliament, legally called and constituted in 1640, whilst that ancient government still subsisted, had been endued by law with continuance of existence, until it should determine its own duration by its own act. The forcible dispersion of the members of that parliament by Cromwell, first in 1648, and finally in 1653, could not affect its vital principle; and, as it had not yet determined its own duration by dissolving itself, and Cromwell's improvidence had neglected to induce it to do so, it still continued to exist. Cromwell had induced the first spurious parliament which he himself had afterwards assembled, to dissolve itself; and upon the ground of that self-dissolution, he had founded his protectorate. "Whereas (said his proclamation) the late parliament dissolving themselves, and resigning their powers and authorities, the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by a Lord Protector, and successive triennial parliaments, is now established," &c. But with respect to the Long Parliament, whose self-dissolution was alone of legal importance, he neglected to do this; and had improvidently contented himself with driving its members from their seats, closing their house against them, and leaving them still undissolved. Hence, they laid a just claim to the continuance of their corporate existence; and when they afterwards

found that Scobell, their clerk, had entered in the Journal of the house, for the year 1653, these words; "This day the Lord General Cromwell dissolved "this house;" they resented it so far as to choose a committee to report to the house, whether this crime of Scobell, of recording as a dissolution of the body of the parliament, that which was only a violent interruption of their functions, came within the act of indemnity or not. To the elements, therefore, of that undissolved parliament, sound reason directed the thoughts of those persons who had happily gained a ruling influence; and who were sensible, that if that parliament could be reinstated, the most legitimate organ then attainable would be possessed, for regenerating the form and the powers of the ancient constitutional government. The means by which that great end was at length attained, we shall now trace, in their totality, to their true sources.

The council of army-officers, who had assumed a violent and lawless supremacy, finding, from the ulcerated state of public feeling, that it was become indispensably necessary that they should manifest some appearance of respect for civil authority, and, being at the same time anxious to keep that authority still under their own control, devised the scheme of calling back into activity the parliamentary fragment, or Rump, which had constituted the whole house of Commons between the years 1648 and 1653; conceiving, that they should be able to hold it and exercise it as a tool in their own hands. Accordingly, on the 6th of May, 1659, they published an invitation to all its

members to resume their sittings, and to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust; but, with the positive exclusion of all the other members of their body who had been secluded, from 1648, for voting, that there was ground for an accommodation with the king. "This measure, however," says Whitelock, "gave hopes to many, that this parliament, thus "restored, might be blessed of God for settling the "peace and liberty of the nation; and the more, "because they were upon the first right and founda- "tion of that long parliament which had done such "great things." The council of army-officers, and the Rump thus restored, concurred heartily in excluding the other members; nevertheless, those who were most sagacious, though adverse equally to the army and to the Rump, were well satisfied for the present with this proceeding, on the consideration, that by re-seating the Rump, the first step would be gained for bringing in again the whole body; as you must first get a finger into a glove, in order to introduce the whole hand. These, therefore, willingly gave their support to the Rump, as the establishment of a principle on which they designed to work; after accomplishing which work, the Rump would necessarily sink into its due relative position of impotency and contempt. That junto accordingly assembled, and again took their seats in the house, on the 7th of May; and on the 17th, they received, under the name of "the "parliament," a letter from General Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, signed by himself and his officers, in which he congratulated them on their

happy "restoration to the government of these "nations."

The Rump, however, did not prove so submissive and subservient as the army had expected to find it; and they were, therefore, on the 13th of October, again excluded from the house of parliament by General Lambert, acting for the army which now resumed its former usurpation of the supreme power. This outrageous proceeding, fired the indignation of those who had supported the Rump on the principle above stated; and they declared their resolution to adhere to the parliament, that is, to the Rump, and to maintain it in its authority. "On the 29th, a letter "came from General Monk to the officers of the "army in London, of the dissatisfaction of himself "and some of his officers in their late proceedings."

In the meantime, on the 27th, the council of officers, persisting in the exclusion of the Rump from parliament, had taken upon themselves to appoint a *Committee of Safety*, "to manage the affairs of govern-"ment, and to prepare a form of future government "for these nations." On the 2d of November, came further letters from Edinburgh, that "Monk, and "many of his officers, had declared for the parlia-"ment, against the officers of the army in England;" in consequence of which intelligence, a deputation from the new committee of safety was sent to the lord mayor and court of aldermen in London, "ac-"quainting them with the proceedings of Monk, and "with the danger of a new civil war to the city "and kingdom; and advising them to take special

"care for the prevention of it, and for securing the "city."

The dread of a renewal of civil bloodshed, caused many persons to desire earnestly an accommodation of the difference that had arisen between the London army and Monk; and among these, some well-intentioned sea-commanders combined to write a mediatory letter to Monk, conjuring him to listen to an accommodation; reminding him, both of their common victories over the Dutch in 1653, and of the satisfaction he had expressed at the dissolution of this very Rump, in that same year. This letter was subscribed,

Richard Stayner,	Henry Fenn,
John Lambert,	Franc. Allen,
Tho. Bunn,	Nath. Brown,
John Bourne,	Peter Bowen,
Robert Clark,	John Stokes,
Tho. Sparling,	Robert Story,
Barth. Ketcher,	Henry Pack,
Charles Wager,	John Grove,
William Goodson,	Edward Witheridge,
Anthony Earning,	Richard Haddock,
Richard Newberry,	Christopher Myngs.[1]

These worthy men were not, at that moment, aware that, without any alteration of sentiment towards those who composed the Rump, circumstances had so changed the relations of things as to render that body convertible to no less an end than the salvation of the country. Their forwardness how-

[1] Whitelock, p. 687.

ever, on this occasion, was so acceptable to the officers of the London army, that, on the 16th of November, they appointed a general council of officers, "to advise touching the form of government;" into which council they agreed to admit "ten officers of "the fleet." This was the first time, from the commencement of our intestine troubles, that the navy were invited to take a part in matters of civil government. The army hoped, by this tender of fraternisation, to gain over the seamen to their purpose; and, in order to induce them to abandon the Rump, they proposed the specious measure of "calling a new and "free parliament," by their own authority.

"*December* 16*th*.—The general council of officers met, in pursuance of the order they lately made, for the summoning of a parliament.

"17*th*.—The council took care to issue forth immediately the writs for the election of a parliament; and it is thought they had proceeded vigorously therein, but for Vice-Admiral Lawson's declaring (this day) for the old parliament; which began to put the council of officers at a stand.[1]

"20*th*, *Whitehall*.—The council of officers resolved, that certain commissioners should go to Vice-Admiral Lawson, to communicate the resolves of the council, &c., desiring him to send some of his friends hither."

"Their sport," says the continuer of Walker's History of Independency, "was quickly spoiled, by a "declaration of Vice-Admiral Lawson, of a necessity "for the Long Parliament to sit again; neither would "any thing else satisfy him, though Sir Henry Vane "himself with his jesuited and poisonous breath

[1] Monthly Intelligence, December 16th and 17th, 1659.

" sought to infect him."[1] " The vice-admiral," says Ludlow, " was too well acquainted with the perni-
" cious designs of the army, to be cajoled into a
" retractation of what he had done."[2] " That which
" broke the heart of the committee of safety," says Clarendon, " was the revolt of their favourite, Vice-
" Admiral Lawson, a man, at that time (appearing at
" least), as much of a republican as Sir Henry Vane
" himself."[3] " Portsmouth," said that honourable and upright cavalier, Sir Philip Warwick, " declared,
" if not for Monk, yet for Monk's declaration; and
" that eminent seaman, and most generous-hearted
" and intelligent person, Lawson (for I had afterwards
" good acquaintance with him, when he was highly
" loyal), did the like with the fleet."[4]

Lawson's declaration set forth, " That the parlia-
" ment being now returned to their exercise and
" authority, we are bound by duty, as we are the
" servants of the commonwealth, to yield obedience
" to them, and acquiesce in the judgment of parlia-
" ment as to government." To meet this portentous declaration, and to strive to procure its revocation, Sir Henry Vane, and other members of the committee of safety, were despatched down the river, on the 17th December, to remonstrate with Lawson, who was then on board his fleet, to the vice-admiralty of which he had been restored. The result of their remonstrance, is fully and satisfactorily stated in the following report.

[1] History of Independency, p. 81.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 771.
[3] History, vol. iii. p. 704. 8vo.
[4] WARWICK'S Memoirs, p. 415.

A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Fleet: giving an account of what hath passed since their arrival at Gravesend (the 17th instant), between divers Honourable Members of Parliament and Vice-Admiral Lawson, and the Commissioners sent from Whitehall, appointed to treat on behalf of the army.

Sent in a letter of the 22d instant, December, from the Fleet riding at anchor at Gravesend.

London, printed by John Streater, 1659.

SIR,

On Saturday morning, 17th instant, at ten of the clock, Mr. Scott, Colonel Okey, and Mr. John Streater, comptroller of the ordnance, arrived on board the *Bristol*, Capt. Deakins being commander of the ships riding at anchor in Tilbury-Hope. Half an hour after, on board the same ship, arrived Sir Henry Vane, Major Salloway, Mr. Courtney, and Mr. Thankful Owen. Captain Deakins, about two of the clock, commanded the *Drake* frigate to weigh anchor, and set sail; either to meet Vice-Admiral Lawson, who was then thought to ride with the fleet in Margaret's (*Margate*) road, or was sailing towards the Hope.

The gentlemen before mentioned went on board the *Drake* frigate; and, after an hour's sailing, she met the fleet. The gentlemen went on board the *James*, to the vice-admiral. Sir Henry Vane endeavoured to persuade the vice-admiral to come to an anchor in the place where he met him; the vice-admiral refused, and came to an anchor, at eight in the evening, a little below Gravesend.

Nothing passed that night worth the taking notice of; but on the Sabbath-day, the 18th instant, about two in the afternoon, the vice-admiral called a council of war; there being present the gentlemen before mentioned, the three first in behalf of the parliament, and the latter as mediators be-

tween the army and the fleet; unto whose aid came Colonel Salmon and Colonel Barrow.

The vice-admiral began; expressing, in an excellent discourse, the reasons and grounds of the fleet's coming into the river, and their declaring their resolutions to endeavour the restoring of the parliament to the exercise of their authority; they, judging them the only means to restore peace and settlement unto these distressed nations, almost ruined with changes, decay and loss of trade occasioned thereby, and the like. After which, he caused the Declaration of the fleet to be read, together with his letter to the late Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and the letter to the lord mayor, court of aldermen, and common council of London. After which, the vice-admiral gave a narrative of Colonel Barrow's negotiation with him in the Downs; as also, what passed between him, Colonel White, and Captain Kingdom, which was to this purpose, viz. they desired him to forbear declaring, especially in behalf of the parliament; likewise, that if he should offer to come out of the Downs, Charles Stuart would immediately transport men over to England, who had (as they alleged) twenty-four sail at Ostend, which were ready.

To which the vice-admiral answered:

As to the first, he was resolved, with the whole fleet, to declare; and, with their lives and fortunes, to pursue it in all points as became Englishmen, in order to the restoration of their liberties.

To the second; he had intelligence from Ostend that there were no ships ready, but some small picaroons; and that he should leave at Dunkirk, and the coast of Flanders, sufficient force to attend their motion. And, moreover, he should leave three or four small frigates in the Downs (as he hath), that should be enough to secure England from any danger that any preparations that were on foot at present could threaten; as also, that he was certain Charles Stuart had no other forces ready, nor could, in any reasonable time, if he had ships.

Colonel Salmon endeavoured to persuade the vice-admiral and the council of war to send five or six more frigates to the Downs, but could not prevail: they were resolved to keep entire, and rather look after the enemy in the heart of their country, than those in the extreme parts.

Colonel Salmon and Colonel Barrow fell, both of them, upon the parliament; alleging, that they had not done any good to the nation.

To which it was replied; that the reasons were, for that the army had always been the obstruction and hinderance, by their imposing upon the parliament such things as not only hindered the good which they ought in duty to have done to their country, but also forced and overawed them to do those things that gave offence and dislike to the people in general.

To which Barrow and Salmon replied; that then, if they stood in the dislike of the people, it was expedient and rational, to compose all, to call a free parliament, or another parliament under qualifications, rather than that parliament.

Unto which it was answered; that the parliament was the only visible power of the nation, and that it is really in being, by act of parliament; and that if they should not meet, and devolve the supreme power to succession of parliaments, they must receive their parliaments, whether free or limited by qualifications, from the power of a committee of safety, who received their power from the army, who have nothing to do with giving of laws to the nation; and that it was the duty of every man to oppose and hinder the carrying on of such pernicious designs, which tended to nothing less than the converting the supreme power of the nation into the hands of the army. For that, if they should submit to have a free parliament, then, if they did but harp upon the string of Charles Stuart, they would dissolve them; and plead, that parliament would not do the work, and that God had a mind to lay aside that idol of the people, parliaments; so it would fall into the hands of a refined interest, the army. And if that parlia-

ment, elected by the authority of the army, should not fall upon a single person, in design to prevent them of their design against parliaments; yet, what would they do when they shall be overruled by the twenty-one conservators, whose judgment and interest must be put into the balance with the judgment and interest of the public?

To the last it was replied by the mediators, that the army had reason so to do, to see that what they had fought for should not be lost in a breath.

Unto which was answered, that the parliament were obliged, in a higher nature than the army, to prevent that: besides, that the parliament could not do it, in regard that what was fought for was the public interest, and the parliament must necessarily adhere to the public interest. That the army never intended other than to fortify itself against the public interest, by setting itself up as a distinct corporation over the people and public interest. The which was apparent by their present practices; and therefore, it was necessary that the army should be brought under the civil power, above which it had exalted itself for several years last past. And that, although they promised to sit under that which they now should set up, all the world knoweth they might pull down what they set up, notwithstanding their promise; for the world knoweth, that yet no promise, covenant, engagement, or declaration, ever held them.

Therefore, it is necessary to oppose them, for they strike at all; especially, when that their present offer of a parliament, free or qualified, tendeth to nothing but to avoid the present emergency of what is threatened by General Monk and Vice-Admiral Lawson, and the other forces of the commonwealth, who (no doubt), with the blessing of the Almighty, will bring them to account for all their horrid perjuries, breach of trust, blasting, and abusing of the nation, by pretending the securing of the cause, the refined interest, and the people of God; when nothing was more destructive thereunto

than their present proceedings, which doth overthrow and endanger all together, and destroy the trade and navigation; obstructing of justice, and discomposing the harmony of government; to the dishonour of God and disquiet of these nations.

Besides, there is nothing less to be expected from them: nay, some of them have boasted, that so soon as this danger is over, they will bridle this nation well enough without parliaments. Therefore, the people are to have a care they be not taken by the snare of their specious pretences; since it is certain, no parliament can be called that better knoweth how to rid the nation of these unquiet and dangerous persons. Moreover, it was largely discoursed and proved, that this parliament ever did what they could possible (in their sitting before Cromwell's interruption) to shake off the yoke of the army; that thereby they may arrive at the work of settling the nation upon the just and honourable basis of true freedom, such as might consist with the preservation of public interest. The like they did at their last sitting, it is evident to the world: they made it appear, that they did not intend longer to lend their authority to be a mask to the army's tyranny. Besides, it was made appear, that when they were admitted the last time to the exercise of their authority, it was to no other end than to be a shield to defend the ringleaders of mischief in the army, for some small time, to colour their act of turning out Richard and his parliament, until they should find an occasion or fit opportunity to turn them out again; so that they might arrive at what they aimed, viz. the tyrannizing over the nation. Nay, in their private cabals, there are some of them have advised rather to choose a free parliament than a parliament that shall be chosen with qualifications; in regard they should have opportunity administered, sooner for their turning out.

There were many more particulars discoursed of; but my memory, together with my time, preventeth me of giving you

the particulars. But, let me assure you, they were the best that ever I heard; insomuch, that they concurring with the judgment and resolution of the honest and gallant sea-commanders, four or five of the dissenting commanders, that stood out at first, were convinced, and signed the declaration before the faces of the mediators.

Sir, there being nothing of action at the present, I forbear to give you any further account, in regard that what they intend further is under consideration in order to action; the, which, no doubt, will produce another face of things, if the Wallingfordians[1] shall still persist in their folly and madness, against which, and them, God in his providence will witness, to the deliverance of these almost destroyed nations; in which work it is the duty of every Englishman to assist, that posterity may be happy under a succession of parliamentary authority, derived from a civil rather than a military fountain, from whence floweth nothing but absoluteness, pride, and unlimited, arbitrary, and tyrannical streams.

Sir, I do not question but you will contribute your aid in this work, and endeavour to undeceive the nation of the pretence of the army in calling a parliament together; with the danger of receiving a parliament from an army, in which the nation doth no less than grant the army to be the supreme authority: besides, when their design in calling them is for no other end than to levy money, to hold you and your posterity in slavery and bonds not easily to be shaken off.

SIR,

Your friend,

and faithful servant to the public,

December 22d, 1659. M. H.

Previously to that meeting at Gravesend, namely, on the 13th, Lawson and his commanders had written

[1] The council of officers sitting at Wallingford House.

a letter to the lord mayor, strongly exhorting him, and his brethren the aldermen and common council, to support the parliament, and rescue it from the control of the army; and, at the same time, expressing a resolution to effect that object by their own numerical force, in case it should be rendered necessary for them to exert it. Having received no answer to that letter, the vice-admiral and his officers wrote a second letter, on the 29th, in which they enclosed a copy of the former, and sent it to the city by the hands of two of their commanders.

"*James*, in the Downs, the 13th December, 1659.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"Having heard of those great distractions and divisions amongst the good people of our nation, by the late breaches betwixt the parliament and English army, and the army under General Monk; and the great disturbance in the city and country, and the sad desolation that is like to ensue, if not by God's mercy speedily prevented by an amicable composure of those unhappy differences; we have been necessitated, according to our judgments and consciences, to declare to the world, that we apprehend the only visible means of healing our breaches and settling us again in peace is, that there may be all Christian ways and means used to reconcile the difference betwixt the parliament that was interrupted the 13th of October last, and the officers of the English army, which we earnestly entreat your lordship, with your honourable brethren the aldermen and common council, to use your utmost for the procuring and accomplishing of; and that the force that is now put upon the parliament may be taken off, that they may return with freedom to the

exercise of their trusts. But, if it cannot be done by Christian and friendly means, we are resolved, according to our *Declaration* enclosed (through the Lord's assistance), to use our utmost endeavours for the removing of that force; in which we earnestly desire your assistance, and which, we doubt not, but will be to the glory of God, and the reviving of the decayed trade of your city in particular, and the nation in general, which is the desire of

"Your Lordship's most humble servants."

"*James*, off Gravesend,
the 29th of December, 1659.

"The above-written is a copy of our former letter out of the Downs; and since our arrival here, having not received any answer, do fear it came not to your hands so timely as we intended; we therefore have sent the bearers, Captain Richard Haddock and Captain Mark Harrison, to give you the state of affairs with us; and to acquaint you, that we are resolved (through the Lord's assistance) to stand to our Declaration, and with our utmost to endeavour to re-establish the parliament (interrupted the 13th of October, 1659) to the exercise of their trust; and we hope, and doubt not, but we shall find your concurrence and assistance in our resolution, and that you will discourage all designs of Charles Stuart and his adherents, or the convening together of any assembly in the name or under the specious pretence of a free parliament, according to the desires of some; which unavoidably must advance Charles Stuart his interest, and endanger the ruin of the cause and interest of Christ and his people,[1] that hath cost so much blood and treasure, and also the destruction of your renowned city, and the liberties of all good people, civil and religious. In confidence of your compliance herein, we shall give all assistance for the advancement of the trade,

[1] See above, pp. 146, 147.

freedom, and safety of your city in particular, and the nation in general. Your answer unto this is desired by

"My Lord,

"Your very humble servants,

"Jo. Lawson,	Antho. Archer,
Geo. Deakins,	Edw. Nixon,
Rich. Newbury,	Rich. Booth,
Franc. Park,	Mich. Nutton,
Phill. Holland,	Jo. Bowrey,
Willoughby Hannam,	Godfrey Read,
Rich. Haddock,	Jo. Copping,
Fran. Allen,	Tho. Penrose,
Hen. Fenn,	Tho. Large,
Marke Harrison,	Tho. Trafford,
Nath. Browne,	Tho. Bowrey."
Sam. Higgenson,	

In consequence, however, of the energetic proceedings of Lawson, and of the weight and force of the arguments set forth and urged in his discussion with the mediators of the army (which were printed and dispersed throughout the metropolis),[1] his object had already been attained; for, three days before the date of his last letter, namely, on the "26th, the "speaker and members of parliament then in town "assembled at Whitehall (with the full concurrence "and support of the lord mayor and sheriffs of "London), and from thence walked together to the "parliament-house, in the evening: the soldiers

[1] "Lawson, with two squadrons, attempted the Tower, and negociates, in "all parts of the nation." Mr. Broderick to Lord Chan. Hyde, 16th Dec. 1659.—Clarendon's *State Papers*.

" shouting as they passed by, who, not long before, " by force kept them from sitting."

On the 29th the parliament, thus re-seated, ordered the speaker to transmit their thanks by letter to Gen. Monk in Scotland, and to the commanders and officers of the fleet, for their fidelity and great good service done for the parliament and commonwealth; but, to deliver them by word of mouth to Vice-Admiral Lawson, at their bar; and, accordingly, on the 9th of the following month, January 1659-60, " Lawson was brought into the house, and received " the hearty thanks of the house, for his constant " fidelity, and the great and eminent service done by " him since the late interruption of parliament."

On the 16th of January, 1659-60, the parliament ordered, " that 1000*l.* a-year, land of inheritance, be " settled on Commissioner George Monk, and his " heirs, as a mark of the favour and respect of the " parliament, for his eminent and signal services; " and that it be referred to a committee to bring in " a bill for settling the said lands on Commissioner " George Monk, and his heirs." And, on the same day, the house voted, " that 500*l.* a-year be settled " on Vice-Admiral Lawson, and his heirs, for his " fidelity and good service to the parliament and " commonwealth; and that the same committee who " were appointed for the settlement on Gen. Monk, " do take care of this also."

Thus was the first stone of the restoration laid by Lawson, and his fleet; and yet, this great governing incident has been so entirely thrown out of the view

and notice of the later historians, that even Dr. Lingard has found no cause for distinguishing it above the minor tumults of the day, but has cast it into the heap, as secondary to the rising of the city apprentices. "The city apprentices," he says, "rose in a "tumult, and demanded a free parliament.—Admiral "Lawson, with his squadron, came into the river, "and declared for the parliament."[1] It is full time, therefore, that justice should be done to Lawson and the navy; that English history should be rectified in this particular; and, that the readers of that history should be no longer deceived by the transmission of the cavalier spirit of that day. It is manifest, from the times and circumstances of his proceedings, and from the reflective truth and earnestness of his argumentation in the council assembled at Gravesend, founded upon the ancient navy grievance, the tyrannising army, that Lawson acted in original, not as second to any one; that he neither owed nor acknowledged subordination to Monk; and, that he moved *pari passu* with him, though here in advance of him; for, Monk was four hundred miles distant, whilst Lawson was present on the scene.

"1659-60.—The condition of the state," says Pepys, "was thus; viz. the Rump, after being dis-"turbed by my Lord Lambert, was lately returned "to sit again. The officers of the army all forced to "yield. Lawson lies still in the river, and Monk is "with his army in Scotland."[2] But, it was Lawson in the river, and not Monk in Scotland, that had so

[1] Chap. lxii. p. 312. [2] Diary, vol. i. p. 1.

recently caused the Rump to sit again, and had forced the officers of the army to yield: and thus, the very parliament that had driven Batten from the fleet, and "would not be governed by a company of sailors,"[1] was now reduced to owe its restoration to the power of those very sailors which it had treated with so much contumely. Lord Mordaunt, in a letter to the king, dated March 24th, 1660, wrote thus: "Lawson "is still in the Thames, to awe the city, which talks "high. He has with him about twenty-three sail; "the names of the ships you have in the last week's "news-books."[2] On the 2d of January, Rumbold had written to the Lord Chancellor Hyde; "In answer "to the parliament, the city refer them to the de-"claration for a free parliament; which they can "interpret, either of a new parliament, or that of "1647 sitting in safety and freedom."[3]

Monk, indeed, sent forward from Edinburgh the moral aid of his mental concurrence with Lawson, and of his assurance of a speedy repair to London with military support; but, Lawson had already brought into operation, not only the moral aid of his argumentative exposure, but also the physical aid of his fleet, which laid the foundation, and secured it when laid, until Monk could arrive with the auxiliary means of an army, to perfect a work that demanded the co-operation and union of both. Let us now observe, how that work was gradually, and securely, accomplished.

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 269.

[2] CLARENDON'S State Papers, vol. iii. p. 640. [3] Ibid. p. 639.

"*January* 4*th.*—Letters from Monk in Scotland, of the good condition of his army, and resolution to adhere to this parliament, and to march to reduce Lambert's forces, in case they did not conform to the parliament.

"6*th.*—Letter from the parliament to Monk, to desire him to come up to London as speedily as he can.

"21*st.*—Letters from Monk of his approach near London, desiring the order of parliament how to dispose of his forces for their service, and protesting all faithfulness and obedience to them.

"23*d.*—Letters, that Monk and his forces were complimented in their march, and addresses made, by some for the secluded members, by others for a free parliament; that Monk gave the hearing to all, but declared his purpose to none.

"*February* 4*th.*—Monk marched into London in all state, with his horse and foot, and came to Whitehall.

"6*th.*—Monk attended the house, and received from the speaker the expression of their hearty thanks. Monk, in reply, extolled the mercy of their restitution; declared that all ought to acquiesce in their judgment; and hoped they would be careful, that neither the cavalier nor fanatic party should yet have a share in the civil or military power.

"13*th.*—The house, after debate about qualifications, agreed to the engagement, 'To be true and faithful to the parliament and commonwealth of England, and the government thereof, in the way of commonwealth and free state; without king, single person, or house of lords.'"

Lawson and Monk, in consistency, and conformity with their promise to acquiesce in the judgment of this parliament, subscribed to this engagement. And, what a thunder-clap was this acquiescence and subscription to the trembling hope of the cavaliers! a

hope, that had increased in pulsation with every step of the general's march from Edinburgh! The disastrous intelligence flew apace; and, in eight-and-forty hours, plunged the little court in exile at Brussels into the deepest despondency. "When the king "heard of this entire submission of Monk to the "parliament, all the little remainder of his hopes," says Clarendon, "was extinguished; and he had "nothing left before his eyes but a perpetual exile. "A greater consternation and dejection of mind," he adds, "cannot be imagined, than at that time "covered the small court of the king." The short-sighted expectants could discern nothing but a cause of despair, in that which was not only pregnant but parturient with the realisation of their most ardent wishes. "God," justly continues Clarendon, "did "not suffer the king long to be wrapped up in the "melancholic cloud." In fact, one short month of agonising, but indispensable obscurity, restored all the sunshine.

"18*th.*—Some members of the parliament now "sitting, and about twelve of the secluded members, "met at Monk's quarters by appointment, and had "conference about re-admitting the secluded mem-"bers. And here (observes Whitelock) began the "great turn, and the design of Monk, to take place." Lawson had prepared the ground, in the first instance, against his arrival in London; and he now began to take the second step, of availing himself of it.

After a cautious and wary speech, addressed

ostensibly to both parties, but really to those of the Rump only, he thus concluded:

"Gentlemen,

"Upon the whole matter, the best result that I can make at present for the peace of these nations will be, in my opinion, that you forthwith go to sit together in parliament, in order,—

"1st. To the settling the conduct of the armies of the three nations, in that manner as may be serviceable to the peace and safety of them; and not to their own and the nation's ruin, by faction and division.

"2d. To the providing sufficient maintenance for them, that is, for the forces by land, and for the navy by sea; and all the arrears of both, and other contingencies of the government.

"3d. To the appointing a council of state, with authority to settle the civil government and judicatories in Scotland and Ireland; and to take care for the issuing of writs for the summoning a parliament of these three nations united, to meet at Westminster, the 20th day of April next, with such qualifications as may secure the public cause we are all engaged in, and according to such distributions as were used in 1654. Which parliament, so called, may meet and act in freedom, for the more full establishing of this commonwealth, without a king, single person, or house of lords.

"4th. To a legal dissolution of this parliament, to make way for a succession of parliaments.

"And, in order to these good ends, the guards will not only willingly admit you, but faithfully, both myself and every the officers under my command; and I believe the officers and soldiers of the three nations will spend their blood for you, and for successive parliaments.

"If your conjunction be directed to this end, you may part honourably, having made a fair step to the settlement of these nations, by making a way for successive parliaments.

But I must needs say, that if any different council should be taken (which I have no reason to fear), these nations would presently be thrown back into force and violence, and all hopes of this much-desired establishment buried in disorder; which the Lord, in his great mercy, I hope will prevent. And so, God speed you well together, and unite your hearts for the preservation of peace and settlement of these nations, to His glory, and your's and all our comforts."

This ingenious discourse of Monk, and its lucid obscurity, struck dismay into the heart of the Rump; whose fate was now plainly exhibited to their view, through the gauze not designed to conceal it. "It "pleased Monk," says Whitelock, "that the secluded "members should sit again; and neither Scott, nor "Robinson, nor Haselrigg, nor Nevil, nor any of "that party, could prevail with him to the contrary, "nor durst any to oppose him. Other meetings of "the secluded members being had, it was agreed, "'That they should take their places in the par-"'liament on Tuesday next.'"

"21*st.*—The secluded members came into the house; several of the old members absented themselves.

"The house being thus changed (continues Whitelock), made a great change in public affairs. Several votes were now passed, without much debate, to vacate all the votes made by the house in 1648 and 1649 against the secluded members, and to set all matters right again in relation to them; and a committee made, to consider what other votes were fit to be vacated. At the same time, they voted Monk to be general of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and Lawson to be vice-admiral; and they passed an order for a new parliament to be summoned, to meet April 25th, 1660."

"*March* 2*d.*—Monk and Mountagu were voted to be generals at sea.[1]

"*March* 12*th.*—The act of militia passed; with a clause, that every commissioner, before he acted, shall acknowledge and declare, that the war undertaken by both houses of parliament, in their defence against the forces raised in the name of the late king, was just and lawful; and that magistracy and ministry are the ordinances of God.

"13*th.*—The engagement, 'to be true and faith-
" 'ful to the commonwealth, without a king or house
" 'of lords,' was voted to be discharged; and all
" orders for taking it expunged:" thus releasing Lawson and Monk, by the same authority that had imposed it (namely, the parliament, in whose judgment they had promised to acquiesce), from a nominal obligation, of which, when they undertook it, they foreknew, without much prescience, the proximate term; since the measures they were pursuing, were designed to effect that release. The Rump, suddenly reduced by this stroke of policy to an impotent and contemptible minority, and conscious that their power was now departed from them for ever, abandoned the house to the exclusive possession of the majority; and retired with the mortification of hearing the name of Rump revived[2] in their ears, and of encountering rumps roasting in every street, in ignominious celebration of the name with which they were branded by the nation.

[1] Clarendon says, that Mountagu was made general at sea "to eclipse
" Lawson." Ludlow, on the other hand, affirms, that Lawson had been made vice-admiral as a check on the party of Mountagu.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 279, note 3.

On the 16th, the house passed an act "for dis- "solving this parliament," which they entitled "A "Bill of the Dissolution of the Parliament began at "Westminster, Nov. 3, 1640; and for calling an- "other Parliament, April 25, 1660:"[1] with a proviso, "not to infringe the rights of the house of peers." "And this parliament," says Whitelock, "having "from this day dissolved themselves, every one de- "parted to their particular occasions." Thus the vessel of the state, driven and buffeted by a constant and rapid succession of storms and tempests, for nearly twenty years, was at length brought, by the mercy and guidance of Divine Providence, safe to an anchor in its own haven; and thus, as I observed at the beginning of these memorials,[2] the act of May, 1641 (which provided, that the parliament should not be dissolved unless by their own order), as it had been the first step in the depression of the crown, so did it now become the first step to its restoration.

It was evident to every one, in the present prevailing sentiments of the country, that, if the nation could once be fully and freely represented in a parliament springing from a civil and not a military source, the king would cease to be an exile; and that a re-union with his people would necessarily ensue, from the force of mutual attraction. "There "is great stirring," said Thurloe, "to be parliament- "men; but the royal party carries it."[3] Those, therefore, who laboured to produce such a parlia-

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 880. [2] Vol. i. p. 9, note 1.

[3] Secret Letter to Downing, at the Hague.

ment, gave positive demonstration of their desire to produce also such a result; for, he who reflectively pursues a course that can lead but to one issue, seeks the issue to which that course leads. The sense of that truth tended to create extreme excitement, both in those who impatiently wished for, and in those who as fearfully dreaded, the king's return; and the great object of the wise and skilful policy that had been adopted, was to restrain both parties, and keep them both in inaction. The only temporising means to do this, was to declare, for a time, against kingly government; which tranquillised the one, and disheartened the other; in order, that his majesty's restoration should not be the tumultuary result of a triumphing party in arms, but the grave and solemn act of a deliberative and representative organ of the whole nation. It is impossible to form a sound opinion or conjecture of the motives that actuated the navy in this crisis, without taking into account the principles which uniformly prevailed in that service, from the beginning of the civil contest. The parliamentary-royalist, differed essentially from the cavalier; and the great body of the navy were parliamentary-royalists then, as they and the nation are now.

Whilst these great measures were going forward in England, other measures, working to the same end, were proceeding, and with still greater celerity, in Ireland; where we left Penn, in the county of Cork, in communication and conjunction with Lord Broghill.

The state of affairs in Ireland, at this critical

juncture, is thus related by Morris, domestic chaplain to Lord Broghill.[1]

"Lord Broghill, finding the army were resolved to ruin Richard Cromwell, his lordship advised Cromwell to cast himself upon the city, and declare for the king and a free parliament; assuring him he would find the city favour him that way, and by it he would make his family for ever. But Cromwell would not comply with this advice; so he went on his own way, till the army deposed him and set up for themselves. And then Lord Broghill went to Ireland, to his command there; and if he had not made good haste, he had been cut off by Fleetwood and Disbrowe, who sent speedily after him to apprehend him: but he escaped, and being upon his command in Ireland, he was out of their reach.

"Soon after this, the council of state, which the army had set up, sent seven commissioners to look after the affairs of Ireland, viz., Steele (the lord-chancellor), Ludlow, Sir Hardress Waller, &c.; who were ordered, in their instructions, to have a particular eye upon Lord Broghill, and to take any occasion of securing him, he being the only person they imagined might practise against their government.

"Lord Broghill seeing how things were, and finding that all the former methods of bringing back the king had failed, and his lordship having a considerable power in his hands, and being well beloved in Munster and respected elsewhere; likewise, seeing the usurper's power now breaking, if not broken, thought it best to get over all, or most part of the army in Ireland, to his majesty's cause: and therefore his lordship sent to Monk in Scotland, to join with him in the design. Lord Broghill had the greatest command in all Munster, and Sir Charles Coote (afterwards Earl of Montrath) had a great power in the north; and so

[1] Created Earl of Orrery, in 1660.

had Monk in Scotland. But while he was busied with these thoughts, there came a summons to him from the new commissioners for the government of Ireland, to appear speedily before them, at the castle of Dublin. His lordship's friends all advised him not to go up, but to stand upon his defence; but my lord, not knowing his own strength, durst not break out yet into open defiance, but resolved to take with him a troop, as a guard. When his lordship came to Dublin, he left his troop in the suburbs of the city, and went to the commissioners to know what their pleasure was. He happened to meet Chancellor Steele first, who, by way of kindness, told him in private that the government were jealous of him; and though he could not tell the particulars they would charge him with, yet he thought, in the general, they would require him to give in good security not to stir against their government; and therefore desired him to be wary. His lordship thanked the chancellor, and went away. The next day the three commissioners met in council, and sent for Lord Broghill to come before them. His lordship obeyed their commands; and when he was come, they all told him plainly, that the state was jealous that he would practise against their government, and therefore they had orders to secure him, either by confinement or special bonds. But, because he had carried himself worthily in subduing the Irish, and was a man of great interests and honour, they thought it just to send for his lordship, without confining him, to desire security that he would not practise any thing against their government. Lord Broghill asked them what security they required? They answered, that as he had a great interest in the province of Munster, they desired that he would engage that no commotion should arise there; and, if his lordship would not enter into that engagement, they must desire him not to take it amiss if they confined him to his castle. My lord quickly apprehended the snare that was laid for him, and therefore desired some time to consider of

their proposals; but they replied, that they could give him no time. My lord then asked them, whether they would give the sole power of all Munster into his hands, so as he might be able to punish offenders, and suppress any who offered to rise in arms? But if they would not allow him that power, it would be impossible for his lordship to be accountable for those over whom he had neither power nor command. On the other hand, if they would invest him with that power, he would engage to be accountable to them for the province of Munster.

"The motion of his lordship mightily surprised the commissioners, who desired him to withdraw a little to the next room, till they had considered of it; and after some consultation they resolved to dismiss him, only requiring a general promise, upon his honour, that he would live peaceably and quietly. So when his lordship was called in again, the chancellor, in the name of all the rest, told him, that they had considered of what his lordship had offered, and would not put any engagement upon him; but, as he was a man of honour, they would trust him, without requiring any more from him than they did from other officers, viz., that he should do what he could to keep the province quiet. Thus they dismissed him, and in a few days his lordship returned to his own house in Munster; where he no sooner arrived, but he employed all his interest in carrying on his former projects of making a party for the king's restoration: and to that end sounded all his own officers, who were desirous and earnest for it, and then dealt with others, who were not immediately under his command.

"And his lordship having now secured all Munster, he sent trusty messengers to Sir Charles Coote, to engage him to do in the North the same that his lordship had done in the South; which he readily undertook, and accomplished. With which good news Lord Broghill immediately despatched a letter to the king, then at Brussels, by his lordship's bro-

ther, the Lord Shannon, inviting his majesty to come into his kingdom of Ireland, and land at Cork; assuring him, that he should there be received, and that he had got all the army of the South, as Sir Charles Coote had that of the North, in readiness to declare for his majesty.

"Lord Shannon embarked in Cork-haven for Flanders, and in a little time arrived at Brussels, and presented the letter of invitation to the king; who received it with great joy, and gave immediate directions to have all things in readiness for his transportation, which in four days was done: and his majesty was just taking horse to come to Calais, in a disguise, in order to his going to Ireland. But, in that moment, letters came from England with such prosperous accounts, as to put a full stop to his journey to Calais."[1]

"The reader will observe, therefore," adds Warner to the foregoing relation, "that the army and "people of Ireland were among the first of those "that broke the ice for the king's restoration."

It was there, in co-operation with Broghill (whom, says Clarendon, "the king looked upon as a person "who may be most instrumental to do him service "there,") and with his other friends in Munster, and also in communication both with Ormonde and with the fleet, that Penn exerted that zealous loyalty, which the king and the Duke of York never ceased to acknowledge with affection; and which they rewarded, in the person of his son, many years after his premature death. On the dissolution of the long parliament in March, and the summoning a new one for

[1] Orrery's State Papers, Life. [2] Vol. ii. p. 585.

the 25th of April, he left Macromp, and embarked at Kinsale for England, to take his seat in the house of commons; having been chosen, in conjunction with General Mountagu, a representative of the borough of Weymouth,[1] in that new or Convention-parliament, and being the only seaman that sat in it.

I say this, without intending the least disrespect or disparagement of his brave and distinguished colleague, but solely through respect for truth. Mountagu, though a valiant officer in action, was a soldier, and not a seaman. He had never experienced the

[1] *From the Mayor and Corporation of Weymouth.*

" *For the Right Honourable General Sir William Penn, one of the Honourable Commissioners for the Admiralty at Whitehall, these.*

" RIGHT HONOURABLE,

" The thankful sense we have of his excellency's recommending your honour, whom we judge very capable of the promoting the good of this place in that of the public, and your intimating that you shall willingly contribute what in you lies for our emolument, hath effectually engaged us (notwithstanding there were many before that were propounded to us) to resolve of choosing your honour for one of our burgesses: in which, upon trial made, we find the cheerful concurrence of the generality of the freemen. We shall not further trouble your honour till we can signify the choice to you, when we may take leave to certify you of our concernments, so as that you may the better know how to be serviceable to the particular interest of these towns, in that of the nation's. We take leave to subscribe ourselves,

" Sir,

" Your honour's most humble servants,

" GEOR. PLEY, *Mayor.*
JNO. SWETMAN,
ROBERT WALL,
HEN. WALTHAM,
ROBERT GIEAR.

RI. SCOVIL.

" *Weymouth, 2d April,* 1660."

training, the subjection, the roughing, nor had he ever had the means of acquiring any of the practical knowledge, of a sea-youngster; he had never even commanded a separate ship; but, in the full maturity of manhood and of independence, had stepped at once from the shore into all the comforts, the consequence, and the authority of the chief commander of a great and powerful fleet of war. He, like his great preceptor, Blake, could order a desperate assault, and cause it to be executed; but, in every thing pertaining to the managing and manœuvring of a fleet, or ship, for that assault, both were constrained to depend absolutely on the skill of practised and instructed seamen: notwithstanding Clarendon's new and royal road to the science. In cordially yielding to both those eminent men the respective measures of glory which belong severally to each, we cannot consent,

From the same to the same.

"SIR,

"The freeholders of this town have chosen your honour and the Lord-General Montagu burgesses for the borough of Weymouth, for the ensuing parliament. It was very much to our satisfaction, that the election passed with so much cheerfulness and unanimity. That the only wise God would so influence the counsels and actings of that great council, so as may be most for His own glory and the good of the nation, shall (we trust, through Divine assistance) be the prayers of,

"Sir,

"Your honour's most humble servants,

"GEOR. PLEY, *Mayor.*
JNO. SWETMAN, *Bailiff.*
ROGER CUTTANCE,
HEN. WALTHAM,
WM. BOND,
STEPHEN EDWARDS.

RI. SCOVIL.

"*Weymouth, 5th April*, 1660."

for their sakes, to compliment away, and reduce to nothing, the peculiar distinction of the sea-service, so as not firmly to assert and uphold that which essentially constitutes the seaman. Those gallant commanders could bring the utmost daring of the field into a sea-fight, but they could do no more; they could draw no succour from those multiplex resources of naval practice and science, which form the accumulated and proper treasure of the sea-bred officer; the first gathering of which must commence in the early age of subjection to authority, parental, pedagogic, or professional. "The prodigious difference which exists between any possible modification of a sea-life, and any possible modification of a shore-life, is so great," observes one most able to pronounce on the subject, "that I suspect it almost indispensable to the entire devotion to the sea which ought to animate an officer, that he should be broke in very early in life, by actually serving as a mere boy afloat; and being subjected to the rough handling which seems necessary to his education, at a period when he is not too old to be disgusted with its elementary drudgery;" and he therefore recommends, "to send him afloat at once, in order to grapple with real work, and to learn, as early as possible, how to make himself useful."[1] Such had been Penn's career, but such had not been Mountagu's.

How sensibly that distinction was felt in the sea-

[1] Captain Basil Hall on Naval Education, United-Service Journal, No. XXXVII., Dec. 1831, pp. 224, 225.

service, is shewn by Vice-Adm. Sir William Monson, who died several years before this period of our Memorials.

"The experienced, valiant sea-soldier and mariner, who knows how to manage a ship, and maintain a sea-fight judicially, for defence of himself and offence of his enemy, is only fit to be a captain, or commander at sea; for, without good experience, a man, otherwise courageous, may soon destroy himself and his company.

"The sea language is not soon learned, much less understood, being only proper to him that has served his apprenticeship: besides that, a boisterous sea and stormy weather will make a man not bred on it so sick, that it bereaves him of legs, stomach, and courage, so much as to fight with his meat. And in such weather, when he hears the seamen cry, "*starboard*," or "*port*," or to "*bide aloof*," or "*flat a sheet*," or "*haul home a cluling*," he thinks he hears a barbarous speech, which he conceives not the meaning of. Suppose the best and ablest bred seaman should buckle on armour, and mount a courageous great horse, and so undertake the leading of a troop of horse, he would (no doubt) be accounted very indiscreet, and men would judge he could perform but very weak service; neither could his soldiers hope of good security, being under an ignorant captain, that knows not scarce how to rein his horse, much less to take advantage for execution, or retreat; and yet, it is apparent to be far more easy to attain experience for land-service, than on the sea.

"The bred seaman is for the most part hardy and undaunted, ready to adventure any desperate action, be it good or bad; as prodigal of his blood, whatever his commander order him, if he loves or fears him.

"The seaman's desire is to be commanded by those that

understand their labour, laws, and customs, thereby expecting reward or punishment, according to their deserts.

"The seamen are stubborn or perverse when they receive their command from the ignorant in the discipline of the sea, who cannot speak to them in their own language.

"That commander who is bred a seaman, and of approved government, by his skill in choice of his company, will save twenty in the hundred; and perform better service than he can possibly do that understands not perfectly how to direct the officers under him.

"The best ships of war in the known world have been commanded by captains bred seamen; and merchants put their whole confidence in the fidelity and ability of seamen to carry their ships and goods through the hazard of pirates, men-of-war, and the danger of rocks and sands, be they of never so much value; which they would never do under the charge of a gentleman, or an unexperienced soldier, for his valour only.

"The United Provinces, whose safety and wealth depend chiefly upon their sea affairs, and who for some years past have had great employment, and enlarged their dominions much in remote places, use only their expert seamen to go captains and chief commanders in all their ships of war and trade.

"Great care must be had to choose a commander, or captain, of discretion and good government, who is to be preferred for his skill and experience; for where the seamen are left without orderly discipline, there can be nothing expected but confusion and shame."[1]

Great were the jealousies that arose from this distinction, when society recovered its former order; not so much on the part of the sea-commanders, as

[1] Naval Tracts, p. 293.

on that of the soldier or shore-admirals and captains, who became sensible of their anomalous position in the navy; and were mortified and irritated to find, that the distinction, founded in truth, could never be entirely obliterated and forgotten by the seamen.

"*April* 25*th.*—Both houses, lords and commons, met at St. Margaret's, Westminster; and after sermon they went to their several houses.

"30*th.*—Order for a day of thanksgiving, for raising up Monk and other instruments in delivery of this nation from thraldom and misery.

"Order for thanks to Monk, for his eminent and unparalleled services.

"That the great business, touching the settlement of these nations, be taken into consideration on Tuesday, the 1st of May next, at eight o'clock."

May 1*st.*—I shall not dwell on the well-known incidents of this ever-memorable day; the assembling of the members, the attendance of Sir John Granville (afterwards Earl of Bath) at the door of the house of commons, his admittance and delivery of the king's letter, the rising of the whole house, and their simultaneous and dutiful acceptance of his majesty's proposals contained in his letter; but, I must admire and applaud the policy and wisdom of anticipating the proceedings on which the house was then about to enter, and of preventing the collisions of opinions, and the consequent uncertain delay and jeopardy which the opening a formal treaty with the king might have produced, by the timely transmission of

that letter; which was, in effect, a treaty, resuming and concluding, on the king's part, that which had been interrupted at Newport in 1648;[1] embracing the fundamental points requisite for securing the king's salutary prerogative, and the nation's just rights and liberties; a treaty, already signed and ratified by the king; and, by his majesty tendered for the acceptance and ratification of his people, now fully and freely represented in parliament. "And that par-" liament," observes Macpherson, "in the space of " eight months restored to the nation, in a great " measure, that regularity of government which the " disturbances and revolutions of twenty years had " completely destroyed. The commons steered " between the limits of prerogative and the borders " of popular liberty. The convention-parliament, " in short, was the happy medium between the " stern violence of their predecessors, and the im-" plicit complaisance of their successors."

On the retrospect of the whole train of these great proceedings, it is manifest; that Monk came up to London from Edinburgh, not to devise and initiate a new measure, but to finish and perfect one, the parts of which were already prepared for him, and only awaited the conclusion of his co-operation and consummation. He knew, that Broghill, Coote, and their numerous coadjutors, had secured Ireland for the king; that the influence of Lawson and of Penn (whom the seamen considered as more truly of their family than either Monk or Mountagu) had

[1] See vol. i. p. 280.

secured the navy; and that Mountagu had at length thrown himself decidedly into the same scale. Of the disposition of Scotland, Monk had had long experience; and the endless addresses he received on his march between Edinburgh and London, put him in full possession of the sentiments governing in England. His rule, therefore, like Lawson's, was to proceed in such a manner as should keep down both the hopes of the cavaliers and the fears of the republicans; that no untimely and passionate explosion might interrupt him in his purpose, of suddenly exhibiting to the nation the blessed spectacle of the king and parliament again united. But, although this was the conclusion and consummation of the measure, its commencement was from Lawson and the navy, who, as these Memorials have fully shewn, invariably sought, from the beginning of the troubles, one and the same end—the re-union of king and parliament; and therefore (to borrow a phrase from Clarendon) "I must let myself loose to say," that to the firm consistency and unextinguished loyalty of her navy, England eminently, and if not principally, yet primarily, owed the recovery of her ancient system of government. I have distinguished between Mountagu and those other sea-commanders, because Pepys, who was in Mountagu's closest confidence, has recorded his own surprise at Mountagu's sudden conversion to the king's interest; for, that officer had been personally and warmly attached to Cromwell, towards whom the sea-officers generally felt nothing but aversion. "May 15," says

Pepys, "he told me, that his conversion to the king's "cause (for I was saying, that I wondered from what "time the king could look upon him to become his "friend) commenced from his being in the Sound "(June 1659), when he found what usage he was "likely to have from a commonwealth." "He was "so much in love with monarchy," says Clarendon, in one of his resolute but imprudent defences, "that "he was one of those who most desired and advised "Cromwell to accept and assume that title." This evidence of his love for monarchy, would have been a very singular reason for a prince of the house of Stuart to regard him as his friend. That he afterwards became truly and sincerely converted to the king, he gave ample and unequivocal proofs; in entire conformity with the spirit of the letter which he addressed to his majesty, on the 10th of April.

General Mountagu to the King.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

"From your majesty's incomparable goodness and favour, I had the high honour to receive a letter from you, when I was in the Sound, last summer; and now another, by the hands of my cousin Mountagu: in both, the expressions of so much grace and bounty towards me, that would challenge great gratitude from equals; but from a sovereign to a subject, not only unworthy but demeriting, the highest thankfulness, obedience, and duty imaginable. I humbly beseech your majesty to be assured, that such impressions your unparalleled grace hath made in the deepest of my heart, that I am unalterably a most dutiful subject and faithful servant of yours, to the uttermost of my power. It is an unspeakable mercy of God's, that hath put so virtuous

and pious dispositions into your majesty's heart, for His glory and the happiness of your kingdoms. And I trust the same power will prepare you a speedy return unto them, and that your majesty will find a people welcoming you with all the possible expressions of obedience, affection, and joy, that shall be a great contentment unto you. It were too presumptuous to be more tedious in giving your majesty a further account of myself, especially since I perceive my cousin will have the honour to be in your presence together with this, who can fully present unto your majesty all things that may have relation unto me; only thus much I humbly crave leave to add: that my accepting the commission under which I now act, was not without communication with, and advice of, faithful servants of your majesty, that I might honestly do your majesty a service in this capacity, and my signification that I would hold it no longer than I might see it to be conducing thereunto; and I hope your majesty hath been informed thereof before now. It is the resolution I have fixedly taken, and shall never be cancelled; but, whilst I live, your majesty shall have of me, &c.

" Your majesty's, &c.

" April 10, 1660."

And here it is but justice to the memory of the old Earl of Warwick to record a perfect conviction, that if that estimable and gallant nobleman had lived two years longer, to witness the blessed change in the affairs of England, he would have been among the very foremost to hail with joy the return and restoration of his legitimate sovereign.

On the 30th of March, General Mountagu, who had been commissioned to command the fleet appointed to bring home the king, went on board the *Naseby*, where Penn joined him on the 4th of April.

"This morning," says Pepys, "come Colonel Thornton, with the wooden leg, and General Penn,[1] and dined with my lord; and Mr. Blackburne, who told me that it was certain now that the king must, of necessity, come in; and that one of the council told him there is something doing in order to a treaty among them. And it was strange to hear how Mr. Blackburne did already begin to commend him for a sober man, and how quiet he would be under his government." It was only on the 19th of the preceding month that this same Mr. Blackburne had told Pepys, "that it was much to be feared that the king would come in; for all good men and good things were now discouraged."

On the 11th of May, General Mountagu addressed the following letter:—

"My Lord,

"Last night I received your lordship's commands concerning the fleet; and that I might be in a better capacity to receive his majesty's commands, I am now under sail for the bay of Scheveling, in Holland, the best place, and nearest where his majesty is, for such great ships as ours are to ride in. Presently upon my arrival there (God willing), I shall give notice unto his majesty thereof, and obey his pleasure.

"I am,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most humble and faithful servant,

E. Mountagu.

"*Naseby, in the Downs,*
May 11, 1660.

[1] The compiler of the index to Pepys' Diary has made two individuals of this name, because in this place he is written "G. Penn." The compiler might have seen, in Thurloe's State Papers, that the word General was often so abridged, as G. Blake, G. Venables, &c.

"*Ships sailing in company with me:*

Naseby	*Essex*
London	*Winsby*
Swiftsure	*Foresight*
Richard	*Yarmouth*
Plymouth	*Lark.*

"Besides these, there are half-a-dozen on the other side, who are ordered to meet me at our rendezvous at Scheveling bay. Orders are also left in the Downs, for what ships come in there to follow us."

On the 12th, the whole fleet weighed anchor, and stood out to sea. It consisted of the following ships, the names of many of which were changed by the king and Duke of York, on his majesty's coming on board on the 23d.

A List of such Ships as were at Scheveling, in attending his Majesty at his return to England.

Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
Naseby, alias *Charles*	General Mountagu, Admiral Roger Cuttance, Captain	500	80
London	John Lawson, Vice-Admiral	360	64
Swiftsure	Richard Stayner, Rear-Adm.	300	60
Speaker, alias *Mary*	Rob. Clerk	220	52
Centurion	John Park	150	40
Plymouth	John Hayward	260	54
Cheriton, alias *Speedwell*	Henry Cuttance	90	20
Dartmouth	Rich. Rooth	100	22
Lark	Tho. Large	40	10
Hind	Rich. Country	35	6
Nonsuch frigate	John Parker	120	34
Norwich	Michael Nutton	100	22
Winsby, al. *Happy Return*	Jos. Ames	160	44
Royal James	John Stokes	400	70
Lambert, alias *Henrietta*	John Coppin	210	50
Essex	Thomas Binns	200	48
Portsmouth	Rob. Sansum	130	36

Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
Yarmouth	Charles Wager	160	44
Assistance	Tho. Sparling	140	40
Foresight	Peter Mootham	140	40
Elias	Mark Harrison	110	36
Bradford, alias *Success*	Peter Bowen	100	24
Hampshire	Henry Terne	130	38
Greyhound	Jeremy Country	85	20
Francis	William Dale	45	10
Lilley	John Pearse	35	6
Hawk	Andrew Ashford	35	8
Wakefield, alias *Richmond*	John Pointz	100	22
Martin	Wm. Burroughs	50	12
Merlin	Edw. Grove.		
Roe ketch	Tho. Bowry.		

Clarendon states, that Penn had a command under Mountagu in this fleet; which is altogether erroneous, as the preceding authentic list of the fleet shews. The noble and learned historian assumed this, from Penn's presence in the fleet; and on such grounds, rest many of his historical statements. Penn had no command, but went as a passenger on board Mountagu's ship, the *Naseby*, to pay his earliest duty to his sovereign.[1] The author of Sir George Ascue's life, in the *Biographia Britannica*, contends that the king came over to England in the *Prince*. "The *R. Prince*," he affirms, "was the ship in which "the king came over from Holland at his resto-

[1] In the Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. p. 295, are the two following entries:—

Sums of Money, by warrant from the Council of State, between February 25 *and May* 15, 1660.

Charged on the Treasury of the Navy.

For General Mountagu, advanced on his going to sea ...	£500	0	0
For General Penn, for a special service	100	0	0

"ration; a fact set down in none of our private "memoirs, though sufficiently known and talked of "at the time." The contrary, however, was so notorious, that we find it recorded at the time, both by Dryden and Andrew Marvel: by the former, in the well-known lines—

> "The *Naseby*, now no longer England's shame,
> But better to be lost in *Charles's* name,
> Receives her lord."

And by the latter, in the less familiar lines—

> "The *Royal Charles*——
> That sacred keel, that had restored
> Its exiled sovereign on its happy board."

And Pepys, Mountagu's secretary, thus records:—"24th May. I was called to write a pass for my "Lord Mandeville to take up horses to London, "which I wrote in the king's name, and carried it "to him to sign; which was the first and only one "which he signed in the ship *Charles*." This took place at sea, as the king was approaching Dover. Ascue's biographer took his erroneous notion from the *Vie et Actions Mémorables du S. Michel de Ruyter*, p. 346, where the author says, "De Ruyter donna "ordre de mettre le feu à ce bâtiment (le *Royal "Prince*), qui étoit un des plus beaux de toute la "flotte ennemie, et sur lequel le roy fit son voyage "de la Haye en Angleterre, en l'an 1660." This, which was only a foreigner's error, the English biographer mistook for new and curious information. There was not, at the time, a ship named the *Prince* in the English navy; the ship that afterwards re-

ceived the name of the *R. Prince,* and in which Ascue was taken prisoner in 1666, was the old *Resolution,*[1] which name she still retained in 1660: and we see, by the preceding list, that the *Resolution* was not in the fleet sent to Scheveling.

May 25th.—His majesty landed at Dover from the *Royal Charles,* late the *Naseby.*

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 492, *note* 3.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RESTORATION.

1660—1665.

Admiralty, and Second Dutch War.

1660.

WHOEVER has read Lord Clarendon's Life, and Continuation of his Life, written by himself, knows with what bitterness and aversion he always speaks of Sir William Coventry and Sir William Penn. As he was now returned to England, and was placed by his royal master at the head of his government; and, as those two persons were united in the closest bonds of friendship, and were jointly employed in offices of great trust during his administration, it will be necessary that the reader should be made well aware of that characteristic disposition of the noble auto-biographer, which Hume was constrained to acknowledge, though, at the same time, he strove to veil and extenuate it as ingeniously as he was able: "He is less partial," says Hume, "in his relation of facts, than in his "account of characters: he was too honest a man to "falsify the former; *his affections were easily capable, "unknown to himself, of disguising the latter.*"[1]

[1] Chap. lxii., end.

It is a very equivocal merit to be constitutionally more prone to false testimony, (and, by necessary consequence, to calumny,) than to false narration. Where such a propensity does not arise from intentional falsehood, it must necessarily proceed from prejudication, or prejudice. "That error of judgment "which I understand by the word prejudice," justly observes an acute and generous-minded naval writer, "steals so insensibly upon us, that unless manfully "and systematically resisted, it is apt to distort the "whole course of our thoughts. Unfortunately, it "is its own judge: it generally conceives itself to be "just; and, unless some novel circumstances arise to "prove or disprove the soundness of its estimates, "by what means shall the truth be disentangled "from the delusion?"[1] Such was the constitution and habit of the mind of the great Clarendon.

No one was ever more entirely a victim of this moral malady, whether on the side of affection, or of aversion, than that eminent statesman. His hostility to Coventry and Penn is easily traced to its source, in the infirmity of that temperament. The king's chief counsellors in his exile, were the Marquess of Ormonde,[2] and Sir Edward Hyde,[3] chancellor of the exchequer.

Of those two distinguished persons, fairer characters

[1] Captain BASIL HALL'S *Fragments*, &c. First Series.

[2] JAMES BUTLER, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, Baron of Arklow, Viscount Thurles, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, created Marquess of Ormonde in 1642, and Duke of Ormonde in 1661.

[3] Sir EDWARD HYDE, Chancellor of the Exchequer, created Viscount Cornbury and Earl of Clarendon in 1660, and Lord High Chancellor of England.

cannot be drawn than the following:—"My Lord of "Ormonde I have now, for some years, had the ho- "nour to know and frequent; and I do protest, that "of all the great men living, I do believe him to be "the most full of honour, integrity, and nobleness of "nature, and the person of all others I would soonest "trust or wish to have to do with. As for his incli- "nations to religion, I think him steady in his own, "and that more out of the constancy of his humour, "than out of any dangerous and fundamental de- "fects he believes to be in ours, to which all the "prejudice he hath I could never find mingled with "any bitterness or malice. You ought not, if you "will believe me, to found any judgment of him "upon the clamours of his own countrymen, who "are for the most part so unreasonably partial, and "so foully unjust unto him, that, if you knew, as well "as I, how ill he merits so unworthy measures from "their hands, you would conceive no less indigna- "tion against them than compassion towards him.

"As for his friend the chancellor, whose passion "and violence you seem so much to apprehend, "I shall perhaps grant you, that it was possible he "might have pursued the same ends, and done the "same things he does, with less exterior heat and "vehemence: yet you must give me leave to tell "you, that one who is made the object of public "hate, and the subject of the common persecution, "shall have much to do to shew no passion, and "never be surprised in ill humour. Besides, it is "possible he may think it for the king's interest and

" service, to shew more zeal and eagerness than he " hath really within him. But, grant that at worst " he be of a hot and hasty temper; when I shall tell " you, that I think him notwithstanding a very up- " right, honest, worthy gentleman, able for the trusts " he hath, and faithful to his master, you will forgive " him."[1]

The brief characters afterwards given by the celebrated author of the *Mémoires de Grammont,* accord well with the preceding. " Clarendon, then minister " of England, supported by his daughter's marriage " with the Duke of York, soon saw himself at the " head of affairs, which he very nearly disordered. " It was not that he wanted ability, but that he " abounded more in presumption. The Duke of " Ormonde possessed the confidence and esteem of " his master. He had rendered himself worthy of " them, by the greatness of his services, the lustre of " his merits and his birth, and the wealth which he " had abandoned to follow the fortunes of his master. " Even the courtiers did not dare to murmur, at " seeing him lord steward of the king's household, " first lord of his bedchamber, and lord lieutenant of " Ireland. He was the exact counterpart of the " Maréchal de Grammont, in character of mind and " nobleness of manners; and, like the Maréchal de " Grammont, he was the ornament of his master's " court."

[1] From a " Copy inclosed of a Letter from an English Roman Catholic, " Feb. 20, 1655-6, in answer to a Nobleman's of the Court of Brussels of " Feb. 2," in CARTE's Collection, &c., vol. ii. p. 100. 8vo.

But, as "two suns keep not their courses in one "sphere," so Clarendon could "ill brook a double "reign" in the sphere of his royal master's confidence. How tiresomely sensitive he was in this respect, may be collected from a letter written to him by Ormonde, in 1659, who was constrained to express himself thus:—"I have yours of the 16th, and read "it with very much admiration; especially that part "where you say, 'I have left you very much in the "dark.' I could not think it could possibly be neces-"sary to put you in mind of what expectations I was "sent with, and they all failing, that I had no more "to do but to return; or that you could imagine I "would tell you, as I did in mine of the first, that "there appeared to me no solid, or indeed probable "ground for the securing of any one place, if I had not "spoken with those who were the main instruments. "And, how could you call this general positive as-"sertion 'no light;' or suppose it did not compre-"hend all particulars within my charge or view?[1]" The whole letter, is directed to the same morbid affection in his jealous colleague; and nothing preserved the friendship between them, but the calm and dignified temper of Ormonde, and the respect and awe with which the qualities and merits of that superior person inspired the mind of Clarendon. The latter of these two personages, was indeed gifted with a master-mind, and with endowments which every one must wish to contemplate with unmixed respect; but, they were unhappily subjected to a master-temper, of the

[1] CARTE's Collection, &c., p. 129.

most despotic quality, which disordered all his moralities whenever it exercised its dominion—and it was rarely inactive; and those who experienced the offence of its operation, were restrained from entertaining the respect they would otherwise willingly have yielded. He was conscious, that he was born with that infirmity; but, what rendered it incurable in him, was a persuasion that it was already cured. Speaking of himself in the third person, he says: "He was in his nature inclined to pride and passion, "and to a humour between wrangling and disputing, "very troublesome, which good company in a short "time so much reformed and mastered, that no man "was more affable and courteous to all kind of "persons; and they who knew the great infirmity "of his whole family, which abounded in passion, "used to say, he had much extinguished the un-"ruliness of that fire." His self-delusion, with respect to the mastery of that native disposition (which Charles the Second entitled, his "intolerable temper,"[1]) was the cause of what he himself called his "fate to be thought every man's enemy;" a cause, which the same self-delusion discapacitated him from detecting. He never was more entirely governed by that temper, than at the moment when he thus proclaimed his mastery over it.

Whilst the king was at Paris, in 1652, Mr. William Coventry (youngest son of Thomas, Lord Coventry, by his second marriage,) then twenty-six years of age, repaired to his majesty's court. Such an arrival

[1] Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary.

from England, was naturally an object of great interest to all the exiled courtiers; and it was such to Lord Clarendon, who surveyed him with a curious and penetrating scrutiny. After a close perusal, the latter thus wrote to Secretary Nicholas (in Holland), under date 11th May: "Mr. Coventry came hither "yesterday: I perceive the Marquess of Ormonde "hath a good opinion of him: sure he hath great "parts;[1] do you know any thing of him?" On the 17th of May, he wrote thus: "Mr. Coventry is here, "and seems to me to have more devotion to Lord "Ormonde than to any other person." On the 8th of June, he wrote thus: "I have very little ac- "quaintance with Mr. Coventry." In an anonymous letter of the 22d June, in which he wrote as a third person, he thus speaks: "You seem to have an ap- "prehension, for which you have not the least reason, "that William Coventry may have an influence upon "the Marquess of Ormonde, or Sir Edward Hyde, "and that he is a creature of Lord Jermyn's; neither "is true: the truth is, he hath good parts, but he is "void of all religion." And, on the 18th of April, 1652, he thus wrote: "By this time, I suppose my "Lord Wentworth may be with you, for he went "hence yesterday. Mr. Coventry goes with him "his journey, which I am very glad of."[2] The truth was, that Ormonde's nature exercised an attractive, and Clarendon's a repulsive power, on the

[1] "*October* 11*th*, 1659.—Came to visit me, Mr. William Coventry (since "secretary to the duke), son to the lord keeper, a wise and witty gentleman." —EVELYN.

[2] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 68, 70, 74, 77, 161.

mind and feelings of the young and high-spirited Coventry, who, cast by nature in a mould of equal altitude with the latter, would not bend to the exactions of his imperiousness, though he willingly bowed to the grace and refined courtesy of the former. The character which Coventry was then about to display to the world, was thus afterwards drawn by two of the most distinguished writers of his age. "Sir William Coventry," says Sir William Temple, "had the most credit of any man in the house of "commons, and, I think, the most deservedly; not "only for his great abilities, but for having been "turned out of the council and treasury, to make "room for my Lord Clifford's greatness, and the de-"signs of the cabal." "Sir William Coventry," says Bishop Burnet, "was in a fair way to be the chief "minister, and deserved it more than all the rest; "but he was too honest to engage in all the designs "into which the court was resolved to go. He was "a man of the finest and best temper that belonged "to the court: a man of great notions and eminent "virtues, the best speaker in the house of commons, "and had the greatest credit of any man in the "house. He never meddled personally with any "minister. He had a perfect understanding of "affairs; so he laid open the errors of the govern-"ment with the more authority, because he mixed "no passion nor private resentment with it. He was "become a very religious man when I knew him; "he saw what was at bottom, and so continued to "his death in a retired course of life."

Far different from these is the character of William Coventry as drawn by Clarendon in his last exile, in which he eased the soreness of his feelings, sometimes by applications of religion, but too often by discharges of his gall. "Coventry," he writes, "was a "sullen, ill-natured, proud man, whose ambition had "no limits, nor could be contained within any; oppo- "sing and contradicting whatsoever was said or pro- "posed by the *chancellor*, or treasurer. He had no "principles in religion or state—of one mind this "day, and another to-morrow; and always very un- "easy to those who were obliged to consult with "him. He was called to that committee with which "his majesty used to consult his most secret affairs; "and, from that time, there was an alteration in the "whole carriage and debate of all matter of business; "and, as the chancellor had found his own credit "with the king much diminished from the time of "the Lord Arlington's being secretary; so a greater "decrease of it was now visible to all men, from the "access of this new counsellor."[1] But, we must go further back than the time of Coventry's introduction into the privy council, to find the cause of the offence which Clarendon had conceived against him. Mr. Coventry, he says, who was newly made secretary to the Duke of York, "infused into his highness "the opinion, that whoever presumed to meddle in "any thing that related to the navy or admiralty, "invaded his jurisdiction; whereas, in truth, there is "no officer of the crown more subject to the council-

[1] Continuation, &c., vol. ii. p. 202. 8vo.

" board than the admiral of England; nor was there " any counsellor, who had ever sat at the board in " the late king's time, to whom this was not as much " known as any order of the table." There was truth in this; but, the times were altered. Clarendon governed at the new council-board, with the authority of his all-grasping and overbearing spirit; and Coventry well knew, that there was no middle course that could be taken between keeping naval affairs wholly out of the chancellor's control, and surrendering them absolutely to his will. The first of these was, therefore, at once adopted and established, by Coventry's advice to the duke; and *hinc illæ lacrymæ;* or rather, *iste livor,* the product of disappointed ambition and impotent resentment.[1]

" The very next morning after the fleet came to " Scheveling," says the same noble and learned historian, " the duke went on board, and took possession " of it as lord high admiral. Mr. Coventry, who was " utterly unacquainted with all rules and customs of " the sea, and knew none of the officers, but was " much courted by all, as the secretary to the " admiral always is, made choice of Captain Penn, " whom the king knighted as soon as he came on " board: with this man Mr. Coventry made a fast " friendship, and was guided by him in all things."[2] That " fast friendship," which was one of the features of the time, and which not only continued

[1] " Clarendon was not let into the secret of this design (the Dutch war), " but was always against it. But his interest was now sunk low."—BURNET.

[2] Continuation, &c., vol. ii. p. 328. 8vo, Ed. Oxon.

and strengthened until death divided them, but operated actively even after that separation, placed both Coventry and Penn in an identity of predicament, with relation to Clarendon's humour and resentment; and provoked him thus to express himself of a distinguished commander at the head of the service, who had just received the earliest token of the king's knowledge and regard, as of an obscure officer hitherto unnoticed in the world.

Sir William Penn's temper and disposition may be collected from a letter written by him to his son in Ireland, in June 1666, in which he says: "I "wonder my Lord of Cork should, with that fierce- "ness expressed in Mr. Elliot's letter, impose upon "me the surrender of lands I have a due title to; "for you well know I yield to no men. My advice "is, you present him my service, and let him know "it will be more kindness for me to let him have it "when settled upon me, than now losing the hold "I have: which I will certainly do, if I find it a "kindness to him, and no great damage to myself. "But, as I cannot be hector'd out of any thing, so my "lord shall really command me all things in reason." A man who "could not be hector'd out of any "thing," and who "yielded to no men," had little chance of harmonising with Clarendon. Pepys has shewn us, in the following epitome of the chancellor's general deportment, how that was to be effected. "My lord (Sandwich) told me what a misfortune "was fallen upon me by a displeasure which my lord "chancellor did show to him last night against me,

" in the highest and most passionate manner that " ever any man did speak, even to the not hearing of " any thing to be said to him; when, God knows! " I am the most innocent man in the world in it. " So, my lord advised me to wait presently upon my " lord (chancellor), and clear myself in the most " perfect manner I could; with all submission, and " assurance that I am his creature, both in this and " all other things. So, full of horror, I went to my " lord chancellor's; and there, coming out after " dinner, I accosted him, telling him, that I was the " unhappy Pepys that had fallen into his high dis- " pleasure, and come to desire him to give me leave " to make myself better understood to his lordship, " assuring him of my duty and service. I told him " clearly how things were; how ignorant I was of " his lordship's concernment in it; how I did not do " or say one word singly, but what was done was the " act of the whole board. He told me, that, think- " ing who it was of the board that did know him " least, he did place his fear upon me. I think I did " thoroughly appease him, till he thanked me for my " desire and pains to satisfy him." This was a price that Penn would never have paid, to rectify the unjust assumptions of the haughty chancellor, or to gain the smiles of the whole cabinet; but Pepys informs us, of himself, that he had been almost a menial dependant in the establishment of his great kinsman, Mountagu.[1]

[1] " *February 25th*, 1666-7.— Lay long in bed; talking with pleasure with " my poor wife, how she used to make coal fires, and wash my foul clothes

But, if Penn possessed not the friendship of Clarendon, he enjoyed in full measure the far more desirable friendship and esteem of the illustrious Ormonde, whose life had been one unintermitted offering of fortune and of blood to the service of his sovereign; who knew Penn intimately, and how zealously he had laboured in Ireland, in communion with him, to ripen the royal interest to the harvest of a restoration. The temper of that truly noble person was adorned with all the graces of equanimity and courtesy of which Clarendon's was deficient, and was free from those failings which rendered that of Clarendon so imperfect. A parallel to Falkland in loyalty, gallantry, and honour, his mind was unenslaved by any personal prejudices; and his recognition of individual worth and integrity, obliterated all memory of former public hostility.

Penn's political sentiments were in entire accordance with those of Coventry, which, shortly after the death of that distinguished statesman, were published to the world, from his manuscript, in 1687, in a tract, entitled "The Character of a Trimmer;" whom he expounded to be one that, in the nautical[1] use of the term, strove to trim the vessel of the state, rolling irregularly and dangerously between the adverse weights of the high-prerogative and republican parties, so as to keep it constantly balanced and

"with her own hand for me, poor wretch! in our little room at my Lord "Sandwich's."—*Diary.*

[1] A reprint of that little tract is published in company with these Memorials.

steadied on the central line between those two extremes. That principle, was one of the ingredients that cemented the "fast friendship" with Coventry, to which Clarendon contemptuously alludes; and only anticipated, by very few years, the great state-principle of the Revolution.

Having stated the positions of Coventry and Penn, with relation to the Earl of Clarendon, it will be further necessary, in consequence of the selections from Pepys' manuscript Diary which have been lately exhibited to the world, and especially in consequence of the arbitrary discretion with which those selections have been made, to shew briefly also the respective positions of those two public servants, with relation to the author of that Diary.

Samuel Pepys was a maternal cousin of General Mountagu (created, immediately after the king's restoration, Earl of Sandwich), to whose friendship and interest he owed his first rise in the world, and his establishment in public life; a ground which he ever afterwards maintained, and cultivated by his readily versatile abilities and persevering industry. His disposition was lively and social, his feelings highly sensitive, his temper quickly excitable, his passions and affections warm. Those qualities were combined with others, which will hereafter fully disclose themselves. His gratitude to Mountagu, for the elevation to which he had attained, and the consideration which he had acquired through his patronage, rendered him his warm partisan; and, like all partisans, he surpassed his principal in zeal. When, in

consequence of being appointed Clerk of the Acts, he became associated with the commissioners of the admiralty, Sir William Batten and Sir William Penn; and also with Sir William (then Mr.) Coventry, secretary of the lord high-admiral; his penetration and good taste prompted him to seek the friendship and intimacy of Coventry, which he courted and pursued with all the ardour, and all the fears, of an enamoured suitor. But, a certain weakness, not to say littleness of character, caused him soon to view, with a feminine jealousy, the superior place which he found Sir W. Penn already to possess in that friendship; nevertheless, the four colleagues continued to live together in the most intimate and confidential society. But, when his party-feelings, or his jealousy, had been put in action by any recent circumstance, or by the exhilaration to which his conviviality subjected him, he indulged himself in giving them vent in a Secret Diary, with all the vulgar unrestraint of his own early habits, and all the low scurrility of that coarse and vituperative age; "making no scruple," as his editor notably observes, "of committing his most "secret thoughts to paper; encouraged, no doubt, "by the confidence which he derived from the use "of short-hand." Those soliloquous effusions, consigned by himself to self-secrecy and oblivion, and which it would have paralysed him to know would be one day openly divulged to the world, have been elaborately detected and exposed, and are now rendered fixed and lasting records of character, without caution, qualification, or corrective; acting calum-

niously on some, and, in the same measure, re-acting with very considerable discredit and reproach on Pepys himself. As these have now lain before the world for several years, and as some of them bear directly upon, and are intimately connected with, the subject of these Memorials, the manner of their publication imposes on me an absolute necessity to repeat them in this place; in order to enable the reader of this work to form a correct judgment of their weight and value, by acquiring a minute and familiar knowledge of the mind and disposition of their author: the attainment of which object, will unavoidably compel some intermixture of matters of a private nature with those which are public and professional, in the remaining portion of our biography. I shall now proceed with the Memorials.

On the 29th of May, the king made his entry into London.

29th of May, 1660.

"This day," says Evelyn, "his majesty Charles the Second came to London, after a sad and long exile and calamitous suffering, both of the king and the church; being seventeen years. This was also his birth-day; and with a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords, and shouting with inexpressible joy; the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine; the mayor, aldermen, and all the companies in their liveries, chains of gold, and banners; lords and nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet; the windows and balconies all set with ladies; trumpets, music, myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the city, even from two in that afternoon till nine at night.

"I stood in the Strand, and beheld it, and praised God! All this was done without one drop of bloodshed, and by that very army[1] which rebelled against him; but 'it was the Lord's doing;' for such a restoration was never mentioned in any history, ancient or modern, since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity; nor so joyful a day and so bright ever seen in this nation; this happening, when to expect or effect it was past all human policy."

"Thus," says Heath, "have you in a view all that pleased and gratified the eye; but, no pen or tongue is able to express those ravishing and loud musical notes of acclamations, which charmed the ears of all loyal subjects, and with which his majesty himself was so pleasingly affected. With these joyful accents his majesty was brought to his palace of Whitehall."[2]

[1] Evelyn, in this particular, over-states the fact, for the sake of poetical effect. It was not *that very army*, for it had already been considerably remodelled by Monk.

[2] Page 452.

"*Court at Whitehall, May* 31*st*, 1660.

Present

The King's Most Excellent Majesty,

H. R. H. the Duke of York,	Lord Chancellor,
Lord General Monk,	Lord Marquis Hertford,
Lord Marquess of Ormonde,	Earl of Northumberland,[1]
Earl of Southampton,	Earl of Leicester,
Earl of Berkshire,	Earl of St. Albans,
Lord Wentworth,	Lord Seymour,
Lord Culpepper,	Mr. Secretary Nicholas,
Mr. Secretary Morris,	Mr. Arthur Annesley,

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper.

"It is this day ordered, by his majesty in council, that the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy do continue to issue forth monies for the necessities of the navy, until further orders."

"*June* 2*d.*—It is this day ordered, by their lordships, in pursuance of his majesty's orders of the 31st of May last, that the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy do take care for providing and issuing victuals, and all things necessary for the navy, as formerly, until further orders.

"4*th.*—Upon consideration of a message sent from Mons. de Bourdeaux to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, signifying that he had received letters of credence from the king his master to his majesty, and desiring his audience accordingly, as ambassador.

"It is this day ordered, by his majesty in council; that the said Mr. Secretary Nicholas do employ one of his secre-

[1] This eminent person, who had lived in retirement ever since the death of the late king, had no disposition to return to public life. In a letter to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Leicester, dated the 2d of November of this year, he says: "About a fortnight hence, I propose to remove to London, where, "I believe, I shall not be very diligent in attending either the parliament-"house, or the council-table; finding myself grown too old for the gallantries "of a young court."—*Sydney Letters*, &c. vol. ii. p. 700.

taries unto the said Mons. de Bourdeaux, to let him know, in answer to his said message, that his majesty is so unsatisfied with his person, for his demeanour during his negociation in this kingdom, that though H. M. has such great respect for the French king, with whom he desires still to hold good intelligence and amicable correspondence, that he will receive an ambassador from him when a fit person shall be employed; yet he thinks it inconsistent with his honour and interest to admit of his being here, in any capacity whatsoever, but doth require him speedily to leave the kingdom."

"27*th*.—It is this day ordered, by his majesty in council, that H. R. H. the Duke of York (lord high-admiral of England), the Lord-General Monk, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord-General Mountagu, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, Mr. Secretary Morris, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Colonel Charles Howard, or any three or more of them, be a committee, to meet on Saturday next, the 30th of this instant, in the council-chamber, at eight of the clock in the morning, to consider of a *Paper*[1] delivered in by his said R.H., touching the regulation of the navy, this day read at the board; and, in order to their information therein, to send for and advise with such persons as they shall think proper for that purpose; and, upon full consideration of the whole matter, to make report unto H. M. of what they conceive fit to be done thereupon."

[1] For this *Paper*, see Appendix I.

"*At the Court of Whitehall, July* 2*d*, 1660.

PRESENT,

The King's most Excellent Majesty,

H. R. H. the Duke of York,	H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester,
Lord Chancellor,[1]	Lord Steward (M. of Ormonde),[3]
Lord General Monk,[2]	Lord Great Chamberlain,
Lord Chamberlain,	E. of Leicester,
E. of Southampton,	Lord Viscount Say and Seale,
E. of Berks,	Lord Roberts,
Lord Wentworth,	Lord General Mountagu,[4]
Lord Seymour,	Mr. Sec. Nicholas,
Mr. Denzill Holles,	Mr. Arthur Annesley,
Mr. Sec. Morris,	Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper.[5]

"Upon consideration of a report made by the committee appointed to consider of a *Paper* given in by H. R. H. the Duke of York, for the regulating the affairs of the admiralty and navy, this day read at this board; It is ordered by his majesty, sitting in council, that his said royal highness do appoint and authorise John Lord Berkeley, Sir William Penn, knight,[6] and Peter Pett, esquire, to be commissioners for the navy, forthwith to assist and join with Sir George

[1] Sir Edward Hyde, created Earl of Clarendon in the following year.

[2] "*7th July* (12 Car. II. 1660), George Monk, K.G., created Baron Monk "of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tyes, Earl of Torington, and Duke of "Albemarle."—DUGDALE.

[3] Created Duke of Ormonde in the following year.

[4] "*12th July* (12 Car. II. 1660), Edward Mountagu, K.G., created Lord "Mountagu of St. Neot's, Viscount Hinchinbrooke, and Earl of Sandwich." —DUGDALE.

[5] Created Baron Ashley in the following year, and in 1672, Earl of Shaftesbury.

[6] Knighted, according to Clarendon, on board the *R. Charles*, off Scheveling, the 23d May, but not registered in England till the 9th of June. I cannot account for the address of the Mayor of Weymouth's letters of the 2d and 6th of April, (p. 209, note); as Sir W. Penn had certainly not been one of Cromwell's knights, of whom a complete list is given in Noble's House of Cromwell.

Carteret, knight, treasurer, ,[1] comptroller, Sir William Batten, knight, surveyor, and Samuel Pepys, esq., clerk of the acts (principal officers of the navy), in the management of the affairs thereof. And it is also ordered by his majesty, that his said royal highness do revoke and annul the authority by him granted to the former treasurer, officer, and commissioners of the navy; requiring them to forbear further acting in those employments; and to cause all the books, records, and papers, as also the several offices, furniture, and necessaries, that have lately been and yet are employed by the said commissioners of the navy, to be delivered into the hands of Samuel Pepys, esq., clerk of the acts, taking his acknowledgment thereof for their sufficient discharge.

"And it is further ordered by his majesty, that in case there be now remaining in the hands of Richard Hutchinson, Esq., treasurer of the navy, any of his majesty's treasure paid to him as treasurer aforesaid, that he the said Ri. Hutchinson do cause the same to be forthwith delivered into the hands of Sir George Carteret, now appointed treasurer in his room; for which a receipt, under the hand of the said Sir George Carteret, shall be unto him a sufficient discharge. Which sum or sums of money so by him delivered, the said officers and commissioners of the navy (now to be appointed), for management of the affairs thereof, are hereby required to see charged in the front of the ledger-book of the accounts of the said Sir George Carteret.

"Provided that nothing herein contained extend to the

[1] This blank was soon after filled with the name of Sir Robert Slingsby. I find no certain clue to the history of this officer; and I infer, from the silence of Pepys' editor, that he was unable to contribute any information respecting him. It is most probable, that he was the Captain Slingsby, R.N. (contemporary with Sir G. Carteret and Sir John Minnes), who, in the contest for the fleet, in 1642, refused to obey the Earl of Warwick's summons, and was, with Captain Wake, sent up a prisoner to the parliament by that earl. See above, vol. i. p. 41.

removing or altering of the office of victualling, but that it may continue in the same hands as now it doth, till further orders.

"Provided also, that Peter Pett, Esq. be not obliged to a continual personal attendance jointly with the other officers, but that his chief care be employed at Chatham, the place of his ordinary residence.

"And it is likewise ordered by his majesty, sitting in council, that the orders of the 31st of May and 2d of June last, whereby the commissioners of the admiralty and navy were empowered to act as formerly until further orders, be hereby recalled; and that the said commissioners do forbear to act from henceforth in pursuance thereof, but leave the management of the affairs of the navy to commissioners and officers, to be appointed by his royal highness in pursuance of this order. And the said commissioners are to cause all books, records, and papers, as also the several offices, furnitures, and necessaries, that have lately been and yet are employed in or for the service of the admiralty and navy, to be delivered up into the hands and charge of the said Samuel Pepys, Esq., clerk of the acts, whose receipt, under his hand for the same, shall be their sufficient discharge.

"Richard Browne."

"2*d*. At seven at night," says Pepys, "the prin-
"cipal officers of the navy—among the rest, myself
"was reckoned one. We had order to meet to-
"morrow, to draw up such an order of the council
"as would put us into action before our patents
"were passed: at which my heart was right glad."

"3*d*. The officers and commissioners of the navy
"met at Sir G. Carteret's chamber, and agreed upon
"orders for the council, to supersede the old ones,
"and empower us to act."

"*Court at Whitehall, July 4th.*

The same present.

"Whereas by order of this board, of the 27th of June last, &c. And whereas the said committee, on the 2nd of July instant, delivered into this board their report, &c., it is therefore this day farther ordered (his majesty sitting in council), that his royal highness be desired to give order, that there be allowed to the treasurer of the navy, for his annual fee or salary, the sum of two thousand pounds per annum; and that the comptroller have, with his fee and former allowances (which were two hundred, three score, and fifteen pounds per annum), so much as to make up his yearly salary five hundred pounds per annum; and that the surveyor of the navy (with his former allowances of two hundred forty and five pounds per annum), so much as to make up his salary four hundred and ninety pounds per annum; and that the clerk of the acts (with his former allowance of one hundred and eighty-two pounds per annum), have so much as to make up his salary three hundred and fifty pounds per annum. And also that the Lord Berkeley and Sir William Penn, as commissioners to assist in the management of the affairs of the navy, be allowed to each of them five hundred pounds per annum; and that Peter Pett, Esq. (as one other commissioner) have the yearly salary of three hundred and fifty pounds per annum. And that his said royal highness be desired, also, to give order and direction to the said principal officers and commissioners, to insert in the yearly estimates of the ordinary charge of his majesty's navy, and demand allowance of, the said several and respective salaries; and to give warrant and direction to the treasurer of the navy for the respective payment of the same quarterly, by even and equal portions; the first payment to begin, for one quarter of a year, to end at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel next ensuing.

"Richard Browne."

Lord Clarendon expresses great offence at the appointment of the commissioners, "which," says he, "was a thing never heard of before, and is, in truth, "a lessening of the power of the admiral. It is very "true, there have frequently been commissioners for "the navy, but it hath been in the same place of the "admiral, and to perform his office; but in the time "of an admiral, commissioners have not been heard "of." He proceeds to ascribe, from his own resentful imagination, and without a shadow of evidence, the most criminal motives to Coventry, who advised their appointment. But, that which is chiefly notable in this passage is, that Clarendon mistates those who were so appointed. "The commissioners named and "commended by the duke to the king," says he, "were the Lord Berkeley, Sir John Lawson, Sir "William Penn, and Sir George Ayscue; the three "last the most eminent sea-officers under Cromwell; "but it must not be denied but that they served the "king after very faithfully. These the king *made* "*his commissioners*, with a pension to each of five "hundred pounds a-year, and in some time after, "added Mr. Coventry to the number, with the same "pension; so that this first reformation in the time "of peace cost the king three thousand pounds "yearly." Now, the number and names of those who were then made Commissioners of the Navy, are as well, and as certainly known, as the number and names of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty at the present day; and it is most certain, that neither Lawson nor Ascue were commissioners, nor

held any civil appointment in the admiralty. The only commissioners superadded to the principal officers of the navy were three, John Lord Berkeley, Sir W. Penn, and Mr. Pett. I leave to those to whom every word of Clarendon is gospel, and Clarendon himself a chief apostle, to reconcile this statement of a contemporary, home fact, with a careful exactness; and to consider, how far it should render them cautious of submitting their confidence, implicitly, to every statement of that very copious, but unscrutinising, historian.[1] He spoke with more accuracy, when he said, "From the time the war was declared, his high-"ness consulted daily, for his own information and "instruction, with Sir John Lawson, and Sir George "Ayscue, and Sir William Penn, all men of great "experience, and who had commanded in several "battles."

"*6th.*—A petition having been presented to the Lords of the Privy Council, on the 13th of June last, from several of the officers and captains of his majesty's fleet, on behalf of themselves and others the commanders, officers, and mariners employed in the sea service since the year 1642, in consequence of an act of the late session of parliament, entitled, 'An Act for the Prosecution of such as are accountable for

[1] In the course of compiling this work, I have had occasion to consult and compare many historical testimonies of the times; but there is not one of them on whose single and unsupported assertion I can place less secure reliance, than that of Lord Clarendon. It was not, that he had any positive design to be untrue; but his passion, and his negligence, combined to suppress in him the anxiety of being always punctiliously true, as I have shewn in several material instances. It was the resource and solace of his exiles, to expatiate at length with his fluent and diffusive pen; and he was by no means inquisitorial of the matter that presented itself for the indulgence of its enlivening and romantic exercise.

'Prize-goods,' whereby all admirals, vice-admirals, and captains of ships, officers, and mariners, who have served in any of the fleets from the 29th of May, 1642, unto the year 1660, are made chargeable for all ships, plate, jewels, bullion, &c. (vide act):

"His majesty, upon consideration of the said humble petition, and of a paper of proposals thereunto annexed, this day likewise read at the board, hath thought fit, and accordingly his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, doth hereby order and require, that his majesty's attorney-general forthwith prepare the draught of a proclamation for his majesty's signature, for the relief and indemnity of the petitioners in and concerning the premises, to the effect of the said humble petition and proposals; and for requiring all persons to yield obedience to his majesty's pleasure, so declared and expressed accordingly; as also, for declaring his majesty's gracious pleasure for granting particular pardons, under the great seal of England, for and concerning the premises, to such of the petitioners as shall make their humble petitions to his majesty on that behalf."

"*August* 30*th*.—A constitution of his majesty, of Sir William Penn to the office of governor and captain of the castle and fort commonly called the Fort of Kinsale in Ireland, and of a foot company there, for the defence and safety thereof, to hold during his majesty's pleasure; together with all fees, allowances, profits, and advantages thereto belonging."

In a letter to his son, dated July 17, 1666, Sir W. Penn thus stated the value of this appointment: "Besides the ancient title it gives of Admiral of Ire-"land, it is worth, to any man that would attend to "it, 400*l*. per annum."

"*September* 24*th*.—Vice-Admiral John Lawson, of Ashford, in the county of Essex, and Rear-Admiral Richard

Stayner, of Greenwich, were this day knighted by his majesty."—(*Herald's College.*)

"29*th.*—This day or yesterday," says Pepys, "I "hear, Prince Rupert is come to court; but welcome "to nobody."

"*November* 1*st.*—This morning," says the same diarist, "Sir William Penn and I were mounted "early, and had very merry discourse all the way; "he being very good company. We came to Sir "William Batten's (at Walthamstow), where he lives "like a prince." In transacting the business of the navy-board with these experienced commanders, Pepys, now in his twenty-eighth year, was initiating himself into a knowledge of the multiplex duties of his new station, to which he had been appointed only four months before; for until then, excepting his attending Mountagu to the Sound as his private secretary, and as secretary to the fleet sent to Scheveling to receive the king, he had only been employed "as a "clerk, under Sir George Downing, in some office "in the exchequer, connected with the pay of the "army."[1] Under the friendly guidance of those able instructors, he commenced his novitiate in sea and admiralty affairs.

"30*th.*—Sir G. Carteret," says Pepys, "did give "us an account, how Mr. Holland do intend to pre- "vail with the parliament to try his project of dis- "charging the seamen all at present by ticket, and "so promise interest, to all men that will lend money

[1] Life, prefixed to Pepys' Diary.

" upon them, at eight per cent, for so long as they " are unpaid; whereby he do think to take away " the growing debt, which do now lie upon the " kingdom for lack of present money to discharge " the seamen."

The navy-board were compelled, by the want of money, to resort to this mode of discharging seamen; but the depreciation of the value of the tickets caused much complaint from the holders of them, and warm debates in the parliament. The necessity, however, under which the Commissioners of the Navy were placed to employ this mode, was afterwards fully exposed by them in their letter to the privy council of the 10th of July, 1668.[1]

" *December* 18*th.*—A letter from the king, dated the 15th instant, and directed to the speaker of the house of commons, was read, on behalf of Vice-Admiral Lawson, to confirm to him 500*l.* a-year, given him by the parliament in January last. This letter of the king's was attended by one also from the Duke of York, on the same occasion; another from the Duke of Albemarle; and a petition from Sir John Lawson himself; on all which a debate ensued.

" Sir Anthony Irby[2] first excepted against that passage in the king's letter which calls them a parliament in January last, when they were then (he said) no more than the *rump* of a parliament. Upon which it was resolved, that the members of this house who are of his majesty's privy council be desired to attend his majesty, and inform him, that after the return of the secluded members to the exercise of their trust, there was no vote or engagement passed by them for settling of any land on Sir John Lawson, vice-admiral of his

[1] See 17th of July, 1668. [2] M.P. for Boston.

majesty's fleet; and that, therefore, this house have not made any proceeding therein.

"Then Admiral Lawson's petition was read; and Sir John Northcot[1] moved, that the clerk should search the book to see if any such order was made. Sir Arnold Breames[2] justified the fidelity of Lawson; said, how long he had been acquainted with him, and what discourse he had, testifying his loyalty in the time of the Rump; and that the king might as safely trust him as himself: that the admiral would venture and engage for the king as much as any man, if he might but have liberty of conscience; and he heard him say, that if the government of the nation should be in one person, the king was the fittest person for it. That though, indeed, it might be objected that he took the oath of abjuration, yet he was compelled to it; and though he came up to the mouth of the river, and made such a declaration against the king, that was upon compulsion also, and his heart was right: as it could be testified by the Earl of Bath (Sir John Granville) and Lord Mordaunt, who had the information from himself. To this Sir William Wylde[3] replied, that he knew Lawson to be so sufficient a traitor, that he deserved no reward, having abjured the royal family, and assisted the committee of safety: that he desired liberty of conscience, only as a better pretence to rebel hereafter; and his *if*, at the king's government, was a sufficient argument against him. Mr. Prynne[4] said, there was a vote passed for him, but it was by the *Rump*, to the end he might serve, point-blank, against the king; and moved the house to let him have what he really did deserve.

"There was but one member more, Mr. Shaw,[5] that spoke in Sir John Lawson's favour; and he only said that, when he was in prison, Sir John assisted him. But Sir

[1] M.P. for Devonshire. [2] M.P. for Dover.
[3] Recorder of London: M.P. for Westminster.
[4] M.P. for Bath. [5] M.P. for Colchester.

William Lewis,[1] Sir John Glynne,[2] and Mr. Holles,[3] calling out to go to the business of the day, the matter was dropp'd."[4]

Nothing can exceed the malignant injustice and ingratitude of the high cavalier party, in bringing the house to this decision. Though the vote for a grant to Lawson, like that to Monk, had been passed by the Rump, it was not one of the votes rescinded, after the return of the secluded members, by the committee specially appointed on the 19th of February, "to consider what votes were fit to be va-"cated," and all those which they did not vacate were to be considered as by them confirmed; this vote especially, as, after vacating all the votes to which they objected, they, at the same sitting, re-appointed Lawson vice-admiral; in which post he was continued by the Convention-parliament, and held and exercised it in the fleet that brought the king to England. And, on the 13th of March, Monk had written to Mountagu, to desire him to take measures for securing to Lawson a grant of ten thousand pounds, in lieu of his perpetual annuity of five hundred pounds.[5] Thus,

[1] M.P. for Devizes.

[2] M.P. for Carnarvonshire. [3] M.P. for Dorchester. "I have not heard "of any mischance to any body through it all (the coronation, 23d April, "1661), but only to Serjeant Glynne, whose horse fell upon him yesterday, "and is like to kill him, which people do please themselves to see how just "God is to punish the rogue at such a time as this: he being now one of "the king's serjeants, and rode in the cavalcade with Maynard, to whom "people wish the same fortune."—(PEPYS' *Diary*.) Both the persons here mentioned had held high law stations under Cromwell, and now paid their court, not so much to the king, as to the cavalier party.

[4] Parl. Hist. vol. xxiii. p. 56, &c.

[5] This letter of Monk is in the Duckett Collection of original MS. documents, vol. iii.

Monk was left to enjoy all the benefits and honours conferred upon him for finishing the work; whilst Lawson, who laid, and secured, its foundation, was to be despoiled of the moderate recompense to which he had as solid a title in reason and equity. But, that rampant party could not endure to hear loyalty ascribed to any, except Monk, who had declared themselves for king and parliament, however purely and sincerely; and, as this had been the prevailing principle in the navy, its officers were the perpetual objects of cavalier resentment and hatred. This occasion, however, with many others, shews to demonstration how unjust it is to ascribe to the king, personally, the resentments and violences exercised under the authority of his restored crown. He had, indeed, recovered his crown, but the cavaliers in church and state had also regained their stations, and had acquired a collective power to indulge their angry and ulcerating passions, which the king was wholly unable to restrain, in the furious re-action of the tide which had now set in. It is certain, that the cavaliers in parliament, and in high offices both civil and ecclesiastical, urged forward the executive authority with a vehemence entirely distinct from the royal will, which, through interest and reason, as well as from natural disposition, would gladly have pursued a milder and more conciliatory course. I shall particularly specify the contumely exercised, on the 30th of the following month, on the body of Cromwell; I mean not its mere exhumation from the royal vault, but its sub-

jection to a semblance of ignominious punishment; an act, which bears the most evident stamp of the cavalier delirium of the moment, but no mark whatever of the personal temper or character of the king, who might truly have said,

"Touching our person, we seek no revenge."

The author of "The Protectoral House of Cromwell" fails most culpably, therefore, in the equity of discrimination, when he thus charges that wanton barbarity on Charles, singly and personally: "I cannot "conclude without expressing my contempt for K. "Charles II., in treating the body of so great a "sovereign with such indecency, though that of an "enemy and usurper."[1] Charles's feelings and conduct towards Henry Cromwell, which Noble himself records, and which shall be presently noticed, ought alone to have withheld a sentence as defective in sagacity as it is in candour and justice.

Dec. 29th.—The present or Convention-parliament was dissolved; and a new parliament appointed to meet.

[1] Vol. i. p. 291.

1661.

"April 9th," says Pepys, "at the sale of old "stores at Chatham; and among other things sold "there, were all the State's arms, which Sir W. Bat- "ten bought; intending to set up some of the images "in his garden, and the rest to burn on the corona- "tion night."

"*April 22d.*—The king's going from the Tower "to Whitehall (in order to his majesty's coronation). "Up early," says Pepys, "and made myself as fine "as I could, and put on my velvet coat, the first "day that I put it on, though made half a year ago. "And being ready, Sir William Batten, my lady, and "his two daughters, and Sir William Penn and his "son, and I, went to Mr. Young's, the flag-maker, in "Cornhill; and there we had a good room to our- "selves, with wine and good cake, and saw the show "very well. In which it is impossible to relate the "glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them "that rid, and their horses and horse-clothes. Both "the king and the Duke of York took notice of *us*, "as they saw *us* at the window." The editor of the Diary has not supplied the reader with information, how it came to pass that the king should proceed from the Tower of London to his coronation in the Abbey of Westminster, nor why those two admirals should have made choice of Cornhill for the place from whence to view the royal procession; but Heath furnishes us with information on both those points.

" His majesty, on the 22d of April, early in the morning, passed from Whitehall to the Tower by water, from thence to go through the city to Westminster Abbey, there to be crowned. Two days were allotted to the consummation of this great and most celebrated action. In Leadenhall Street, near Lime Street-end, was erected the first triumphal arch. Near the Exchange, in Cornhill, was erected the second arch, which was *Naval*. On the east side were two stages erected; on each side of the street one. In that on the south side, was a person representing the river Thames. On the other stage, on the north side (which was made like the upper deck of a ship), were three seamen, whereof one habited like a boatswain. A shield, or table, in the front of the arch, bore this inscription:

Neptuno Britannico,
CAROLO II.;
Cujus arbitrio
mare
Vel liberum vel clausum.

" The first painting on the north side, over the city arms, represented Neptune with his trident advanced; the inscription,

Neptuno reduci.

On the south side, opposite, Mars with his spear inverted, his shield charged with a gorgon; by his knees the motto,

Marti pacifero.

Over the arch, the marriage of Thame and Isis.

" The painting on the north side, over Neptune, did represent the Exchange; the motto,

——— generalis lapsi sarcire ruinas.

" The uppermost great table in the foreground represented King Charles the First, with the prince, now Charles the Second, in his hand, viewing the sovereign of the sea, the prince leaning on a cannon; this inscription,

'O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æquor,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.'

'For thee, O Jove's delight, the seas engage,
And mustered winds, drawn up in battle, rage.'"[1]

This *Naval Arch* was the point of attraction, above all other stations between the Tower and the Abbey, that drew those two admirals, of long friendship but disparate ages, together with their families, to the flag-maker's in Cornhill; to contemplate the king at length proceeding to Westminster to receive his crown of England, unworn for many long and lingering years. Far other thoughts, we may be sure, engaged their meditations, than the finery of clothes and housings which enraptured the young companion whom their kindness had brought with them. What a series of events, variously affecting both, had followed each other, since the date of Penn's urgent letter to his vice-admiral, in 1645, to be removed to a better ship, or, of that in which he was suitor for a quarter-cask of sack by the Malaga Orange-men, because it was grown cold! What chequered remembrances they had to recall, mutually, to each other's thoughts! whilst the young and light-hearted Pepys was absorbed in gazing on the glitter of the show, and the ineffable glory of the scene. When the king, in recognising the party at the window, on this solemnly triumphant day, directed his eyes (not to Pepys' new velvet coat, but) to the countenances of two devoted commanders, who, he knew, had severally laboured to bring about that day; who can

[1] Page 477.

doubt, that the minds of all the three were in unison, and that the same reflection was reciprocally, though mutely, transmitted and received? Meanwhile, Pepys' mind, whose memory was not burdened with any such qualifying recollections, was rapidly travelling to its philosophical conclusion: "After all this, I can say, "that besides the pleasure of the sight of these "glorious things, I may now shut my eyes against "any other objects, nor for the future trouble myself "to see things of state or show; as being sure never "to see the like again in this world!"

May 9th.—The new parliament met, in which Sir William Penn was again returned a member for the borough of Weymouth. Mr. William Coventry, who had not been in the former or Convention-parliament, was now returned a member for Yarmouth.

June 4th.—"To my Lord Crewe's to dinner," says Pepys, "and had very good discourse about "having of young noblemen and gentlemen to think "of going to sea, as being as honourable service as "the land war."[1]

The discovery of this important truth, and its reduction to be an axiom of British policy, was one of the fruits of the triumphant conduct of the late naval war. How warmly it has since been espoused, and how nobly exhibited in action by the paternal care of his late blessed majesty, King George III., paternal equally to his country and to his family, is manifested on the throne. James, duke of York, had been destined by his royal father, from his childhood, to

[1] See Appendix K.

be lord high admiral of England; but, whether it was the king's intention that he should prepare himself for that office by entering an early grade of the sea service, does not appear; if such had been his majesty's design, the distractions which broke out in the infancy of the duke effectually defeated it: yet it is but justice to observe, that, from the time his royal highness attained to that high station, the exertions which he made to recover the time he might have lost, both with respect to the official business of the admiralty on shore, and the maintenance of the kingdom's naval pre-eminence on the seas, were crowned with the utmost success. But, in the happy reign of George III., no obstruction occurred to defeat the accomplishment of his patriotic purpose; and, through his royal paternity, the British navy have now the pride of contemplating the diadem of Britain on the brow of the first sea-bred prince that ever wore it.

"*August* 14*th.*—This morning Sir W. Batten, "Sir W. Penn, and I," says Pepys, "waited upon the "Duke of York in his chambers, to give him an "account of the condition of the navy for lack of "money, and how our own very bills are offered "upon the Exchange to be sold for 20 in the 100 "loss. He is much troubled at it, and will speak "to the king and council of it this morning.

"31*st.*—At court, things are in very ill condition; "there being so much emulation, poverty, and the "vices of drinking, swearing, and loose amours, that "I know not what will be the end of it but con-"fusion. And the clergy so high, that all people

" that I meet with do protest against their practice.
" In short, I see no content or satisfaction any
" where, in any one sort of people.—We are, at our
" office, quiet; only, for lack of money, all things go
" to rack. Our very bills offered to be sold upon
" the Exchange at 10 per cent loss.

" *Sept. 24th.*—Letters from sea, that speak of
" my lord (Sandwich) being well; and (of) his action,
" though not considerable of any side, at Algier."

" The Earl of Sandwich," says Heath,[1] " (the Streights and the Levant seas being infested with the pirates of Algier, Tunis, and Tripoly, notwithstanding our late league), was sent with a fleet of war to reduce them to better terms. He set sail, with his vice-admiral Sir John Lawson, leaving his rear-admiral Sir Richard Stayner, on the 19th of June, and the 29th of July came before that port of Algier; sending in a civil message to the dey or bashaw of the place, that he came to confirm the league made formerly between us and them; and a treaty accordingly ensued. But they refusing to deliver the captives, except upon hard conditions, and not to be brooked by those who had made them feel the smart of their former insolence, the general weighed and stood into the harbour; but they, ever since their former disaster, had with new fortifications, and a mole with forts, so secured themselves, that after the firing of some of their ships, and doing some execution on them, it was advised the fleet should make out again; which they did with the loss of some men, and the wounding and maiming of others; as also, of their yards, sails, and rigging. After which enterprise, the earl, leaving Sir John Lawson to block them up, and their thieving trade being stopped, departed with part of his fleet to the

[1] Page 500.

coast of Spain, to Tangier, and so at length to Lisbon, according to his orders."

"25*th.*—Sir W. Penn told me, that I need not "fear any reflection upon my lord for their ill success "at Algier, for more could not be done."

"*October* 1*st.*—I sailed this morning with his majesty," says Evelyn, "in one of his *yatchts* (or pleasure-boats), vessels not known among us till the Dutch East India Company presented that curious piece to the king, being very excellent sailing vessels. It was on a wager between his other new pleasure-boat, built frigate-like, and one of the Duke of York's; the wager £100, the race from Greenwich to Gravesend and back. The king lost it going, the wind being contrary, but saved stakes in returning. There were divers noble persons and lords on board, his majesty sometimes steering himself. His barge and kitchen-boat attended."

"26*th.*—News was brought," says Pepys, "that "Sir R. Slingsby, our comptroller, is dead; which "put me into so great trouble of mind, that all night "I could not sleep; he being a man that loved me, "and had many qualities that made me to love him "above all the officers and commissioners of the "navy.

"27*th* (Lord's day).—At church in the morning; "where, in the pew, both Sir Williams (Batten and "Penn), and I, had much talk about the death of Sir "Robert, which troubles me much; and them in "appearance, though I do not believe it, because "I know he was a check to their engrossing the "whole trade of the navy-office.

"29*th.*—This day I put on my half cloth black "stockings, and my new coat of the fashion, which

" pleases me well; and with my beaver I was (after
" office was done) ready to go to my lord mayor's
" feast, as we are all invited; but the Sir Williams
" were loth to go on account of the crowd, and so
" none of us went.

" *November* 2*d.*—At the office all the morning;
" where Sir John Minnes, our new comptroller, was
" fetched by Sir W. Penn and myself from Sir W.
" Batten's, and led to his place in this office. The
" first time that he had come thither; and he seems
" in a good fair condition, and one that I am glad
" hath the office.

" 13*th.*—By appointment, we all went this morn-
" ing to wait upon the Duke of York; which we did
" in his chamber, as he was dressing himself in his
" riding-suit to go this day by sea to the Downs.
" After we had given him our letter relating the bad
" condition of the navy for want of money, he re-
" ferred it to his coming back, and so parted. Thence
" to my Lord Crewe's: he tells me, in good earnest,
" that he do believe the parliament (which comes to
" sit again the next week) will be troublesome to the
" court and clergy, which God forbid! But they see
" things carried so by my lord chancellor and some
" others, who get money themselves, that they will
" not endure it.

" 20*th.*—To Westminster Hall by water in the
" morning, where I saw the king going in his barge
" to the Parliament-house; but hear no news but
" that which I am troubled at, that Sir John Minnes
" should send word to the king, that if he did not

" remove all my Lord Sandwich's captains out of the " fleet, he believed the king would not be master of " the fleet at its coming again: and so do endeavour " to bring disgrace on my lord. But I hope all that " will not do, for the king loves him."

" 30*th.*—This is the last day for the old State's " coin to pass in common payments; but they say " it is to pass in public payments to the king, three " months still." In a speech of Lord Lucas, in the house of lords, the 22d Feb. 1670-1 (which speech was burnt by the common hangman), he thus adverted to that coin: " It is evident that there is scarcity " of money; for all the parliament's money called " *breeches* (a fit stamp for the coin of the Rump) is " wholly vanished—the king's proclamation and the " Dutch have swept it all away. And of his now " majesty's coin, there appears but very little; so " that in effect we have none left for common use, " but a little old lean coined money of the late three " former princes. And what supply is preparing for " it, my lords? I hear of none, unless it be of copper " farthings, and this is the metal that is to vindicate, " according to the inscription on it, *the dominion of* " *the four seas.*"

1662.

His Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral, to the principal Officers and Commanders of His Majesty's Navy.

"GENTLEMEN, "Whitehall, Jan. 28, 1661-2.

"I have long deferred the sending to you a book, concerning the duty of the several officers belonging to his majesty's navy; not that I thought it unnecessary they should be instructed in it, but that I was informed that the present want of money had so hardened and emboldened many persons in their negligences and abuses, that there was little hope of their amendment; and therefore I thought it better to delay the publishing those rules, until the want, and in it the pretence of offending, were removed, and till the king were enabled to pay and discharge from his service such whose examples carry more of danger than their service afforded use. And therefore I desire you, that your first care may be (when money is supplied to the treasurer of his majesty's navy) to discharge unnecessary workmen in the yards; and the next, to set a mark on such who shall appear to have served either deceitfully or negligently, that they may not hereafter be entered into his majesty's yards upon any occasion of work, for the future: that so, the severity towards such as have offended for the time past, may be a means to continue others in their duty for the time to come.

"I must likewise recommend to you, the examining the ordinary in his majesty's yards, which I am informed is in some of them rather fit for an hospital than the king's service; an abuse which is not to be suffered. Such as are become impotent by the service of the navy, are to expect their relief from the chest, towards which the payments cannot but have been great of late; and since the end of the Dutch war, the occasions of maiming men cannot have been many. And

therefore I doubt not but if the chest be well governed, it will succour those poor people, without burthening the ordinary.

" In the next place, I desire you to take an exact account of the behaviour of the several officers in the yards, who are intrusted with the king's expense there; in which, if you find any to be prodigal, I desire you to suspend them their employments, and to certify me their offence; and I shall give such order as shall deter others from the like abuses. And, under this head, I desire you to examine if the master shipwrights have put the king to unnecessary charge in repairs of ships, and particularly if they have exceeded their estimates for such repairs; or if they have, for the beautifying their own works, bestowed more charge in carving and adorning them than was proper. And where you find offences of this nature, according to the degree of it, to watch more narrowly to their actions for the future, or to report to me the nature of their offences, for the punishing them according to desert.

" But if any store-keepers, or other officers, who are intrusted with the viewing and judging the condition of stores delivered into the several yards, shall have so far falsified their trusts as to make a false report of the quality of the stores so delivered in, and by it shall have misguided you in the signing bills for stores which are indeed unuseful, or not of equal goodness to the price given upon their report, I suppose it will be unnecessary to press you to be strict and severe towards them, since yourselves are so much concerned in it; and that if they be not punished for such crimes, it will reflect upon you, as if, notwithstanding a true report of the unserviceableness of the said stores, you had proceeded to expend his majesty's treasure in goods unfit for the service. And therefore, the consequence of this being so great, both as to the real service of his majesty, as to the reputation of the management of the affairs of the navy, I desire you to be extraordinarily careful in it.

" As to the management of the affairs amongst yourselves,

that which I shall principally recommend to you is, that there be due and timely information gotten of the quantity of each sort of goods needful for the navy which are to be bought, and of the prices; in both which, I desire you not to rely wholly on the information of purveyors, or any single person, but to use all means to be fully informed; and, being so informed, to make your contracts at your public meetings in the office; and in contracts of great value, to give yourselves some days for inquiry before the concluding the contract, that so you may not be misguided by a supposed necessity of buying of any one merchant, when possibly others might furnish cheaper and better: and by this method, as the king's contracts may probably be made with better husbandry, so will it be no small advantage to his majesty; for that it will take away all occasion of calumniating his officers, it being impossible but the least reproach (though unjust) upon officers so highly intrusted as yourselves, should, by the diminution of your authority towards your inferiors, redound very much to the disservice of his majesty.

"I desire you, as often as ships return from any voyage and are paid off, to make a strict inquiry, by the commanders and masters, of the ability and behaviour of all the standing officers during the voyage; and if any shall be found unable, or otherwise unfit for their employment, to certify the same to me. This inquisition I judge the more necessary, for that there hath been a necessity to remove divers of the warrant-officers, and to put others in their places, rather upon a presumption of their good affections, than that there could be any certainty of their ability; so that it will be necessary to have a review of such as have been so put in, after experience had of them by a voyage. And in order to your better information, you may let the commanders and masters know, that I expect they should be careful and exact in their certificates, (which I would have to be under their hands); for if it shall appear that, through favour or affection, they have given a

false account of them, I shall impute it to such a degree, either of ignorance or unfaithfulness, as will render them incapable of any future employment in his majesty's service.

"These things, together with a book containing the duty of the several officers, I thought it seasonable to recommend to your care at this time; expecting that, ere long, there will be such a supply of money to the navy, as will enable you to put these and all other good rules vigorously in execution.

"I am your affectionate friend,

"JAMES."

This letter is followed, in Sir W. Penn's manuscript copy, by the book therein mentioned, which is thus indorsed in the hand-writing of his son: "*Sir "William Penn's Regulations of the Navy, settled by "the King in Council,* 1660; *being thereunto com-"manded by the King and Duke.*" The regulations which it contains, are, in fact, only a revisal and confirmation of the *Orders and Instructions* issued in 1640, by Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, then Lord High Admiral, "with some small additions and "alterations," as his Royal Highness's preamble declares.

Letter from Henry Cromwell to the Earl of Clarendon.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

"When the declaration was framing, I did abhor to be so unreasonable as to seek any particular provision for myself in it; but when I saw myself secured by the multitude, and when his majesty, by his special letters and promises, declared, that though I had indeed escaped in the crowd, yet that he

had a particular mercy for me;[1] and when I saw that he could not be prevailed upon to unsettle others, who perhaps (abating my name) were greater offenders, I did then presume to insist upon that his mercy; nor could I believe (with some) that the so doing was dishonourable unto his majesty. And your lordship, (being above making an interest by trampling upon the fallen, or by being bitter against things that come to pass by God's secret providence), have most nobly and christianly patronised me in it, even to success; and for this, in a few words, I give your lordship my eternal thanks and prayers.

" I might, perhaps, have better expressed these my sentiments some other way; yet I have presumed to do it thus by

[1] Henry Cromwell, on his brother Richard's deposition from the protectorate, had been desirous to secure Ireland for the king. " In September, 1671," says Noble, (vol. i. p. 212,) " Charles II. found him at his estate of Spinney Abbey, " in Cambridgeshire, employed in the occupation of husbandry. His majesty, " on his return from Newmarket, expressing a wish to call at some house and " take refreshment, the Earl of Thomond," (Noble, inadvertently, says Lord Inchiquin), " Henry's brother-in-law, then with his majesty, observed, that " there was a very honest gentleman in the neighbourhood, that would think it " an honour to entertain his majesty; which the king was pleased with, and " desired him to conduct him to his friend's seat. When they came into the " farm-yard, (which led to the house), his lordship taking up a muck-fork, and " throwing it over his shoulder, went before Mr. Cromwell, who was then in " the yard, and wondering at so large a company coming so unexpectedly upon " him; and still more, at the ceremony of the muck-fork. Nor was the king " without his surprise: ' What,' says his majesty of fun, ' is the reason of this ?' " ' Why, sire,' says the muck-fork bearer, ' this gentleman, before whom I " ' carry this implement of husbandry, is Mr. Henry Cromwell, to whom I had " ' the honour of being mace-bearer when he was in Ireland.' Charles laughed; " poor Mr. Cromwell was confounded; but the ease of the sovereign dissipated " all disquietude. The hungry company were treated with what the hospitable " Henry had, and they departed with good humour and pleasure on all sides." Henry died soon after, of the stone, in March 1674, aged forty-seven. Henry, Earl of Thomond, (son of the Earl of Thomond mentioned in vol. i. p. 161,) and Henry Cromwell, married daughters of Sir Francis Russel, Bart., of Chippenham, in the county of Cambridge.

letter, that there may remain a testimony of infamy upon me, if ever I abuse the admirable mercy I have found, either by future disloyalty to his majesty, or ingratitude to your lordship. And I wish your lordship would add one favour more, which is, to assure his most excellent majesty, and his royal highness, (how hard or needless soever it be to believe me), that few can wish their royal persons, family, or interests, more prosperity and establishment, than doth,

" May it please your lordship,

" Your lordship's most obedient, most humble, and most obliged servant,

" April 9, 1662." " H. CROMWELL.

"" *May 8th.*—Sir George Carteret," says Pepys, " among other discourse, tells me, that it is Mr. " Coventry that is to come to us as a commissioner " of the navy; at which he is much vexed, and cries " out upon Sir W. Penn, and threatens him highly. " And looking upon his lodgings, which are now " enlarging, he in a passion cried, ' *Guarda mi spada;* " ' for, by God, I may chance to keep him in Ireland " ' when he is there;'[1] for, Sir W. Penn is going thither " with my lord lieutenant (Duke of Ormonde): but

[1] Captain George Carteret, R.N., knighted by the king, a stanch cavalier, had been comptroller of the navy to the late king, and governor of Jersey. The Parliament (says Clarendon) had intended to appoint him vice-admiral to the Earl of Warwick, in 1643, but the king forbade him to accept the appointment. He held the offices of treasurer of the navy, and vice-chamberlain, after the Restoration; but was expelled the House of Commons, in November 1669, for alleged irregularity in his public accounts. A cause of Carteret's hostility to Penn, besides that of political party, may perhaps be found in the paper (Appendix I.) in which, on the first settling of the Admiralty, in June 1660, the latter had exposed to the king the necessity of providing some effectual checks on the offices of treasurer, comptroller, and surveyor of the navy.

" it is my design to keep much in with Sir George;
" and I think I have begun very well towards it.

" 15*th.*—To Westminster; and at the Privy-seal
" I saw Mr. Coventry's seal for his being commis-
" sioner with us."

" *June 7th.*—To the office. I find Mr. Coventry
" is resolved to do much good, and to inquire into all
" the miscarriages of the office.

" 10*th.*—All the morning much business; and
" great hopes of bringing things, by Mr. Coventry's
" means, to a good condition in the office.

" 12*th.*—I tried on my riding-cloth suit with close
" knees, the first that ever I had; and I think they
" will be very convenient. At the office all the
" morning. Among other businesses, I did get a vote
" signed by all, concerning my issuing of warrants,
" which they did not smell the use I intend to make
" of it; but it is to plead for my clerks to have their
" right of giving out all their warrants. A great
" difference happened between Sir G. Carteret and
" Mr. Coventry, about passing the victualler's account,
" and whether Sir George is to pay the victualler
" his money, or the exchequer—Sir George claiming
" it to be his place, to save his three-pences. It
" ended in anger, and I believe will come to be a
" question before the king and council."

" 27*th.*—To my Lord (Sandwich); who rose as
" soon as he heard I was there, and in his night-
" gown and shirt stood talking with me alone, two
" hours I believe, concerning the greatest matters of
" state and interest. Among other things, that his

" greatest design is, first, to get clear of all debts to " the king for the embassy money, and then a par- " don; then to get his land settled; and then to " discourse and advise what is best for him, whether " to keep his sea employment[1] longer or no: for he " do discern that the duke would be willing to have " him out, and that by Coventry's means. And here " he told me, how the terms at Algiers were wholly " his; and that he did plainly tell Lawson, and agree " with him, that he would have the whole of them if " they should ever be agreed to: and that, accord- " ingly, they did come over hither entitled, ' Articles " ' concluded on by Sir J. Lawson, according to " ' instructions received from his Royal Highness " ' James, Duke of York, &c., and from his Excellency " ' the Earl of Sandwich,' (which, however, was more " than needed: but Lawson tells my lord, in his letter, " that it was not he, but the council of war, that " would have ' his royal highness' put into the title, " though he did not contribute one word to it.) But " the Duke of York did yesterday propose them to " the council to be printed with this title: ' Con- " ' cluded on by Sir John Lawson, Knight,' and my " lord quite left out. Here I find my lord very poli- " tic; for he tells me, that he discerns they design " to set up Lawson as much as they can, and that he " do counterplot them by setting him up higher still; " by which they will find themselves spoiled of their " design, and at last grow jealous of Lawson. This

[1] Of lieutenant-admiral to the duke, or vice-admiral of England.

" he told me with much pleasure; and that several " of the Duke's servants, by name my Lord Berkeley, " Mr. Talbot, and others, have complained to my " Lord, of Coventry, and would have him out. My " lord do acknowledge, that his greatest obstacle is " Coventry. My lord did also tell me, that the duke " himself, at Portsmouth, did thank my lord for all " his pains and care; and that he perceived it must " be the old captains that must do the business, and " that the new ones would spoil all: and that my " lord did very discreetly tell the duke, (though quite " against his judgment and inclination), that, how- " ever, the king's new captains ought to be borne " with and a little encouraged: by which he will " oblige that party, and prevent, as much as may be, " their envy. But he says, things will certainly go to " rack if ever the old captains should be wholly out, " and the new ones only command.

" I met Sir W. Penn: he told me the day was " now fixed for his going into Ireland; and that " whereas I had mentioned some service he could " do a friend of mine there, Samuel Pepys, he told " me he would most readily do what I would com- " mand him."

" 28*th*.—Great talk there is of a fear of a war " with the Dutch, and we have order to pitch upon " twenty ships to be forthwith set out; but I hope it " is but a scarecrow to the world, to let them see " that we can be ready for them; though, God " knows, the king is not able to set out five ships

" at this present without great difficulty, we neither " having money, credit, nor stores."

" *July* 2*d.*—Up while the chimes went four, and " so to my office, to read over such instructions as " concern the officers of the yard; for I am much " for seeing into the miscarriages there. By and by, " by appointment, comes Commissioner Pett, and " then a messenger from Mr. Coventry, who sits in " his boat expecting us. So we down to him at the " Tower, and there took water all, and to Deptford " (he, in our passage, taking notice how much differ- " ence there is between the old captains for obe- " dience and order, and the king's new captains, " which I am very glad to hear him confess); and " there we went into the store-house, and viewed " first the provisions there, and then his books, (but " Mr. Davis himself was not there); and I do not " perceive that there is one-third of their duties " performed; but I perceive, to my great content, " Mr. Coventry will have things performed. In the " evening come Mr. Lewis to me, and very inge- " niously did inquire whether I did look into the " business of the chest at Chatham; and, after my " readiness to be informed did appear to him, he did " produce a paper, wherein he stated the government " of the chest to me; and upon the whole did tell " me, how it hath ever been abused, and to this day " is; and what a meritorious act it would be to look " after it: which I am resolved to do, if God bless " me; and do thank him very much for it."

At the beginning of this month, Sir William Penn had the gratification of accompanying the Duke of Ormonde to Ireland, which gave him the most advantageous opportunity of visiting his estates in Cork and his government of Kinsale, and of attending the provincial council of Munster, of which he had been made a member. Of his grace's journey, Carte gives the following account:

"The Duke of Ormonde had intended to set out in April for Ireland, where his presence was much wanted. The queen's marriage forced him to defer his journey; and he set out from London in the beginning of July. There had been, in that place, a great concourse of the Irish nobility and gentry to take care of their concerns, whilst the bill of settlement was under the consideration of the council. These being now on their return, with the commissioners appointed to execute the act, made up his grace's train on the road towards Dublin, and contributed to make it more splendid than ever had been known on such an occasion. In every county, as he passed through the country to Chester, the lord lieutenants met him, and the militia were drawn out to do him honour. The weather was very stormy, and the wind contrary; so that he continued his journey by land to Holyhead, where he embarked; and after a bad passage (which gave occasion to reports of his being cast away), arrived at Dublin on the 27th of July, being the day of the same month in which, fifteen years before, he had been compelled to deliver up the government to the commissioners of the parliament. His reception at Dublin, by the resort of all persons of distinction from every part of the kingdom (a parliament also being there sitting), was, for the splendour thereof, a kind of epitome of what had been lately seen at London upon his majesty's happy restoration. No man cer-

tainly in the three kingdoms had hitherto been more popular, and stood more unblemished in the opinion of the world."[1]

"*August* 23*d.*—Mr. Coventry and I did walk to-
" gether a great while in the garden, where he did
" tell me his mind about Sir George Carteret's having
" so much the command of the money, which must
" be removed. And indeed it is the bane of all our
" business."

"*September* 8*th.*—With Mr. Coventry to the
" duke, who told us, that he do intend to renew the
" old custom for the (lord high) admirals to have
" their principal officers to meet them once a-week,
" to give them an account what they have done that
" week."

Sir W. Penn's absence in Ireland was very short, for we find him again at Whitehall, in company with Pepys, and his brother commissioners, on the 15th of September.

"*October* 19*th* (Lord's-day).—Put on my first
" new lace band, and so neat it is, that I am resolved
" my great expense shall be lace bands, and it will
" set off any thing else the more. I am sorry to hear
" that the news of the selling of Dunkirk is taken so
" generally ill, as I find it is among the merchants;
" and other things, as removal of officers at court,
" good for worse; and all things else made much
" worse in their report among people than they are."

"30*th.*—This morning, walking with Mr. Co-
" ventry in the garden, he did tell me how Sir G.

[1] CARTE's Life of Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 257.

" Carteret had carried the business of the victualler's
" money to be paid by himself, contrary to old prac-
" tice; at which he is angry I perceive, but I believe
" means no hurt, but that things may be done as
" they ought. He expects Sir George should not
" bespatter him privately, in revenge, nor openly.
" Against which he prepares to bedaub him, and
" swears he will do it from the beginning, from Jersey
" to this day. And as for his own taking two large
" fees or rewards for places that he sold, he will
" prove, that he was directed to it by Sir George
" himself, among others. And yet he did not deny
" Sir G. Carteret his due, in saying, that he is a man
" that do take the most pains, and gives himself the
" most to do business of any about the court, without
" any desire of pleasure or divertisements: which is
" very true. But, which pleased me mightily, he
" said in these words, that he was resolved, what-
" ever it cost him, to make an experiment, and see
" whether it was possible for a man to keep himself
" up in court by dealing plainly and walking up-
" rightly. In the doing whereof, if his ground do
" slip from under him, he will be contented: but he
" is resolved to try, and never to baulk taking notice
" of any thing that is to the king's prejudice, let it
" fall where it will; which is a most brave resolution.
" He was very free with me; and, by my troth, I do
" see more real worth in him than in most men that
" I do know."

" *November 4th.*— This morning we had news by
" letters, that Sir Richard Stayner is dead at sea in

" the *Mary*, which is now come into Portsmouth " from Lisbon; which we are sorry for, he being " a very stout seaman."

" 22*d.*—News, that Sir J. Lawson hath made up " a peace now with Tunis and Tripoli, as well as " Algiers, by which he will come home very highly " honoured."

" 28*th.*—By ten o'clock to Ironmongers' Hall, to " the funeral of Sir Richard Stayner. Here we " were, all the officers of the navy, and my Lord " Sandwich."

" 30*th.*—Dunkirk newly sold, and the money " brought over; of which we hope to get some to " pay the navy, which, by Sir J. Lawson's having " despatched the business in the Straits, by making " peace with Algier, Tunis, and Tripoli (and so his " fleet will also shortly come home), will now every " day grow less, and so the king's charge be abated; " which God send!"

" *December* 15*th.*—To the duke, and followed " him into the park—so back to his closet, whither " my Lord Sandwich comes, and there Mr. Coventry, " and we three had long discourse together about " the matters of the navy; and, indeed, I find myself " more and more obliged to Mr. Coventry, who " studies to do me all the right he can in every " thing with the duke."

" 31*st.*—Thus ends this year. By my last year's " diligence in my office, blessed be God! I am come " to a good degree of knowledge therein; and I " doubt not but, by the continuance of the same

" endeavours, I shall in a little time come to be a " man much taken notice of in the world; specially " being come to so great an esteem with Mr. Co- " ventry." How much of his knowledge of the business of his office Pepys must have owed to his constant commerce with Sir William Penn, and to the succours of that officer's great experience in admiralty affairs, readily imparted to him, may be inferred by the reader; since Clarendon ascribes Coventry's knowledge of those affairs, to that same source.

1663.

"*January*, 1662-3.—A commission to Sir W. Penn, to be assisting to Sir John Minnes in the execution of his office of comptroller of his majesty's ships."

"*Jan. 5th.*—To the duke, who himself told me, "that Sir J. Lawson was come home to Portsmouth "from the Straits with great renown among all "men; and, I perceive, mightily esteemed at court "by all."

"*February 2d.*—With Mr. Coventry down to his "chamber, where he did tell me how he do make "himself an interest by doing business truly and "justly, though he thwarts others greater than him-"self, not striving to make himself friends by ad-"dresses; and by this he thinks and observes, he do "live as contentedly (now he finds himself secured "from fear of want), and, take one time with another, "as void of fear or cares, or more, than they that "(as his own terms were) have '*quicker pleasures* "'*and sharper agonies*' than he."

"*27th.*—To Sir W. Batten's," says Pepys, "to "speak upon some business; where I found Sir John "Minnes, pretty well fuddled, I thought. He took "me aside to tell me, how being at my lord chan-"cellor's to-day, my lord told him that there was a "great seal passing for Sir William Penn (through "the impossibility of the comptroller's duty to be "performed by one man), to be, as it were, joint-"comptroller with him; at which he is stark mad,

" and swears he will give up his place. For my part, " I do hope, when all is done, that my following my " business will keep me secure from all their envy. " But, to see how the old man do strut, and swear " that he ' understands all his duty as easily as *crack* " ' *a nut*, (and easier, he told my lord chancellor, for " ' all his teeth are gone); and that he understands " ' it as well as any man in England; and that he " ' will never leave to record, that he should be said " ' to be unable to do his duty alone:' though, God " knows, he cannot do it more than a child." We have already seen, that Sir John Minnes was one of the few sea-commanders that refused obedience to the parliament; and that, after the death of Sir John Pennington, in 1645, he succeeded him as vice-admiral to the late king. He had seen little or no active service; yet his party-perversity made him " send word to the king, that if he did not remove " all my Lord Sandwich's captains out of the fleet " (that is, those who had contributed to create the " navy in the Dutch war), he believed the king " would not be master of the fleet at its coming " again."

" *May 5th.*—With Sir J. Minnes; he telling many " old stories of the navy, and of the state of the " navy at the beginning of the late troubles; and I " am troubled at heart to think, and shall hereafter " cease to wonder, at the bad success of the king's " cause, when such a knave as he (if it be true what " he says) had the whole management of the fleet, " and the design of putting out of my Lord Warwick,

" and carrying the fleet to the king; wherein he " failed most fatally, to the king's ruin."

" *June* 2*d.*—To St. James's to Mr. Coventry, " where I had an hour's private talk with him con- " cerning his own condition, at present being under " the censure of the House, being concerned with " others in the ' Bill for selling of Offices.' He tells " me, that though he thinks himself to suffer much " in his fame hereby, yet he values nothing more of " evil to hang over him; for that it is against no " statute, as is pretended, nor more than what his " predecessors out of mind have taken; and that so " soon as he found himself to be in an error, he did " desire to have his fees set, which was done; and " since that time he hath not taken a token more. " He undertakes to prove, that he did never take a " token of any captain to get him employed, in his " life, beforehand, or demanded any thing. And for " the other accusation, that the cavaliers are not " employed, he looked over the list of them now in " the service; and of the twenty-seven that are now " employed, thirteen have been heretofore always " under the king; two neutrals; and the other twelve " men of great courage, and such as had either the " king's particular commands, or great recommenda- " tion to put them in, and none by himself. Besides " that, he sees that it is not the king's nor duke's " opinion, that the whole party of the late officers " should be rendered desperate. And lastly, he " confesses, that the more of the cavaliers are put in, " the less of discipline hath followed in the fleet;

" and that, whenever there comes occasion, it must " be the old ones that must do any good. He tells " me, he cannot guess whom all this should come " from, but he suspects Sir G. Carteret; as I also " do, at least, that he is pleased with it. But he " tells me that he will bring Sir G. Carteret to be " the first adviser and instructor of him, what is to " make his place of benefit to him; telling him, that " Smith did make his place worth 5,000*l.*, and, he " believed, 7,000*l.*, to him, the first year; besides " something greater than all this, which he forbore " to tell me."

" 24*th.*—To St. James's, and there an hour's pri- " vate discourse with Mr. Coventry. We discoursed " of the evil of putting out men of experience in " business, as the chancellor; and of the condition " of the king's party at present, who, as the papists, " though otherwise fine persons, yet being by law " kept for these fourscore years out of employment, " they are now wholly incapable of business; and so " the cavaliers for twenty years, who, says he, for " the most part have either given themselves over to " look after country and family business, and those " the best of them; and the rest, to debauchery, &c. " And that was it that hath made him high against " the late bill brought into the house, for the making " all men incapable of employment that had served " against the king. People, says he, in the sea-ser- " vice, it is impossible to do any thing without them, " there not being more than three men of the whole " king's side that are fit to command, almost; and

" these were Captains Allen,[1] Smith, and Beech, and, " it may be, Holmes, and Utber, and Batts, might do " something."

" *August 8th.*—I, with Mr. Coventry, down to " the water-side, talking; wherein I see so much " goodness and endeavours of doing the king service, " that I do more and more admire him."

" *October 12th.*—At St. James's: we attended " the duke, all of us; and there, after my discourse, " Mr. Coventry, of his own accord, began to tell the " duke, how he found that discourse abroad did run " to his prejudice about the fees that he took, and " how he sold places, and other things; wherein he " desired to appeal to his highness, whether he did " any thing more than what his predecessors did, " and appealed to us all. So Sir G. Carteret did " answer, that some fees were heretofore taken, but " what he knows not; only that selling of places " never was nor ought to be countenanced. So Mr. " Coventry very hotly answered to Sir G. Carteret, " and appealed to himself, whether he was not one " of the first that put him upon looking after this " business of fees? and that he told him, that Mr. " Smith should say that he made 5000*l.* the first " year, and he believed he made 7000*l.*? This Sir " G. Carteret denied, and said, that if he did say so " he told a lie, for he could not, nor did know, that " he ever made that profit of his place; but that he " believes he might say 2500*l.* the first year. Mr.

[1] Afterwards Sir Thomas Allen; he had commanded a ship in the fleet that seceded to the Prince of Wales, in 1648. (CHARNOCK.)

" Coventry instanced in another thing particularly, " wherein Sir G. Carteret did advise with him about " selling of the auditor's place of the stores, when in " the beginning there was an intention of creating " such an office. This he confessed, but with some " lessening of the tale Mr. Coventry told; it being " only for a respect to my Lord Fitzharding. In fine, " Mr. Coventry did put into the duke's hand a list of " above 250 places that he did give without receiving " one farthing, so much as his ordinary fees for " them, upon his life and oath; and that, since the " duke's establishment of fees, he had never received " one token more of any man; and that, in his whole " life, he never conditioned or discoursed of any " consideration from any commanders since he came " to the navy."

" 30*th.*—To my great sorrow find myself 43*l.* " worse than I was the last month, which was then " 760*l.*, and now it is but 717*l.* But it hath chiefly " arisen from my layings-out in clothes for myself " and wife; viz. for her about 12*l.*, and for myself " 55*l.*, or thereabouts; having made myself a velvet " cloak, two new cloth skirts, black, plain both, a " new shag gown, trimmed with gold buttons and " twist, with a new hat, and silk tops for my legs, " and many other things; being resolved hence- " forward to go like myself.[1] And also two periwigs,

[1] Pepys' singular interest in apparel is not to be ascribed wholly to vanity, but partly to his early impressions and habits. His editor informs us, that up to the year 1660, the period when he was raised to be clerk of the acts, through the interest of Mountagu, his father was a practising tailor in London. It is probable, therefore, that the impressions received under the paternal roof, gave

" one whereof cost me 3*l.*, and the other 40*s.* I " have worn neither yet, but will begin next week, " God willing. The plague is much in Amsterdam, " and we in fear of it here, which God defend!"

" *Nov.* 8*th.*—To church, where I found that my " coming in a periwig did not prove so strange as I " was afraid it would; for I thought that all the " church would presently have cast their eyes all " upon me."

" 9*th.*—To the duke, where, when we come into " his closet, he told us, that Mr. Pepys was so altered " with his new periwig that he did not know him. " So to our discourse, and among and above other " things, we were taken up in talking upon Sir " J. Lawson's coming home, he being come to Ports- " mouth."

" 29*th, Lord's day.*—This morning I put on my " best black cloth suit, trimmed with scarlet ribbon, " very neat, with my cloak lined with velvet, and a " new beaver; which altogether is very noble, with " my black silk knit canons I bought a month ago."

" 30*th.*—At Whitehall, Sir W. Penn and I met " the duke in the matted gallery, and there he dis- " coursed with us; and by and by my Lord Sandwich

a particular importance to apparel in his mind, and rendered it a favourite object of his taste, when he had gained a station in society that enabled and authorised him to indulge himself in the choice and acquisition of it. " His father, John Pepys," says his editor, " was a citizen of London, where he fol- " lowed the trade of a tailor about the year 1660; he soon after retired to " Brampton, in Huntingdonshire." It is not unreasonable to assume, from the coincidence in point of time of the son's elevation to a state-office, and the father's relinquishment of his former business, that the two events bore the relation of cause and effect.

" came and stood by, and talked; but it being St.
" Andrew's, and a collar-day, he went to the chapel,
" and we parted."

" *Dec.* 12*th.*—We had this morning a great dis-
" pute between Mr. Gauden,[1] victualler of the navy,
" and Sir J. Lawson, and the rest of the commanders
" going against Algier, about their fish, and keeping
" of Lent; which Mr. Gauden so much insists upon
" to have it observed, as being the only thing that
" makes up the loss of his dear bargain all the rest
" of the year."

[1] Soon after, Sir Dennis Gauden.

1664.

"*Feb. 9th.*—Great talk," says Pepys, "of the "Dutch proclaiming themselves, in India, lords of "the southern seas, and denying traffic there to all "ships but their own, upon pain of confiscation; "which makes our merchants mad."

"*15th.*—Great news of the arrival of two rich "ships, the *Greyhound*, and another, which they were "mightily afraid of, and great insurance given. This "afternoon, Sir Thomas Chamberlain came to the "office to me, and shewed me several letters from "the East Indies, shewing the height that the Dutch "are come to there; shewing scorn to all the En- "glish, even in our own factory there, of Surat, "beating several men, and hanging the English "standard, St. George, under the Dutch flag, in "scorn; saying, that whatever their masters do or "say at home, they will do what they list, and be "masters of all the world, there; and have so pro- "claimed themselves *Sovereign of all the South Seas;* "which certainly our king cannot endure, if the par- "liament will give him money. But I doubt (and "yet do hope) they will not yet, till we are more "ready for it."

"*19th.*—Sir John Bankes told us several passages "of the East India Company; and how in every "case, when there was due to him and Alderman "Mico 64,000*l.* from the Dutch for injury done to "them in the East Indies, Oliver, presently after the

" peace (they delaying to pay the money), sent them " word, that if they did not pay them by such a day, " he would grant letters of mark to those merchants " against them; by which they were so fearful of " him, they did presently pay the money, every " farthing."

The controversy with Holland, which brought on the second Dutch war, was now violently fermenting. The causes of this new war I shall leave to political history, as I did that of the first war; and shall confine my principal attention to matters pertaining to the navy and naval profession.

" *March* 23*d*, 1663-4.—To the Trinity House," says Pepys, " and there dined very well; and good " discourse among the old men. Among other things, " they observed, that there are but two seamen in " the parliament, Sir William Batten and Sir William " Penn, and not above twenty or thirty merchants; " which is a strange thing in an island."

" *April* 21*st*.—I find that the house this day " have voted, that the king be desired to demand " right for the wrong done us by the Dutch, and " that they will stand by him with their lives and " fortunes; which is a very high vote, and more " than I expected."

" 23*d*.—I met with Mr. Coventry, who himself is " now full of talk of a Dutch war; for it seems the " lords have concurred in the commons' vote about " it; and so the next week it will be presented to " the king."

" 27*th*.—This day the houses attended the king,

" and delivered their votes to him upon the business " of the Dutch; and he thanks them, and promises " an answer in writing."

From the Council to H. R. H. the Lord High Admiral.

" May 13th.

" May it please your Royal Highness,

" His majesty, with the advice of this board, having taken into consideration a memorial, or report, of the lords and others of his privy council (appointed a committee for the affairs of his navy royal), dated the 11th of May instant, hath given us in command to desire your royal highness forthwith to issue warrants and directions to the principal officers and commissioners of his majesty's navy, to fit, equip, and man a squadron of twelve of his majesty's ships, of the rates after mentioned, to observe the motions of the Dutch, and to guard the narrow seas; and according to such further particular order as you shall, from time to time, receive from his majesty.

Second rate, one;
Third rate, three;
Fourth rate, seven;
Fifth rate, one;
And one ketch.

" And further, that like warrant and direction be given (as aforesaid), that to prevent a surprise in case of a war with the Dutch, thirty good ships more should be made choice of immediately, fitted and rigged, to be in readiness to second the former squadron; and that a provision of sea-victuals be made for 4000 seamen for four months, over and besides the 3000 men formerly ordered for six months."

" 23*d*.—The king," says Pepys, " is gone down, " with the duke and a great crew, this morning by " break of day, to Chatham."

"*June* 20*th.*—I to the duke, where we did our "usual business. And among other discourse of the "Dutch, he was merrily saying, how they print that "Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, and my Lord "Sandwich, are to be generals, and soon after is to "follow them '*Vieux Penn:*' and so the duke called "him in mirth, Old Penn."

"*August* 27*th.*—All the news this day is, that "the Dutch are, with twenty-two sail of ships of war, "cruising up and down about Ostend; at which we "are alarmed. My Lord Sandwich is come back "into the Downs, with only eight sail, which is or "may be a prey to the Dutch, if they knew our "weakness, and inability to set out any more "speedily."

"*Sept.* 6*th.*—This day, Mr. Coventry did tell us "how the duke did receive the Dutch ambassador "the other day; by telling him that, whereas they "think us in jest, he believes that the prince (Rupert), "which goes in this fleet to Guinea, will soon tell "them that we are in earnest; and that he himself "will do the like here, in the head of the fleet here "at home; and that he did not doubt to live to see "the Dutch as fearful of provoking the English "under a king, as he remembers them to have been "under a *coquin.*"

"*Oct.* 1*st.*—We go on now with vigour in prepar-"ing against the Dutch; who, they say, will now fall "upon us without doubt, upon this high news come "of our beating them so wholly out of Guinea."

"3*d.*—With Sir John Minnes by coach to St.

" James's, and there all the news now of very hot " preparations for the Dutch. And being with the " duke, he told us that he was resolved to take a " trip himself, and that Sir William Penn should go " in the same ship with him; which honour, God " forgive me! I could grudge him, for his knavery " and dissimulation, though I do not envy much the " having the same place myself. Talk also of great " haste in getting out another fleet, and building " some ships; and now it is likely we have put one " another's dalliance past a retreat."

" The duke," says Clarendon, " took Sir William " Penn into his own ship, and made him captain of " it; which was a great trust, and a very honourable " command; and exempted him from receiving any " order but from the duke." This was very true, but Clarendon did not choose to state what it was more than this; that it placed all the commanders in a necessity of obeying such orders as the duke, wholly unexperienced in naval operations, might, by Penn's counsel, think fit to issue to the fleet. Clarendon further affirms, that his royal highness's selection of Penn was merely to accommodate a private point of precedency between that admiral and Sir George Ascue.

" There was somewhat," he says, " of rivalship " between the two last, because they had been in " equal command, therefore the duke took Sir " W. Penn into his own ship." But, it is not true, that they had been in equal command; for Ascue had never commanded a fleet as general at sea. The

only rivalship was with Sandwich, who also had commanded a fleet as general, but a junior general to Penn. My naval reader, however, will not readily believe, that in such a crisis the duke determined a point of such vast concernment to himself and to his honour by so light and courteous a motive as Clarendon assigns; but will rather suppose, that in making the selection his royal highness was governed by motives similar to those which governed Cromwell and Blake in making choice of a vice-admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet, at the beginning of the former Dutch war, of 1652;[1] and he will be confirmed in that opinion, by the following further testimony of the duke's principal reliance on Sir W. Penn's counsel in naval affairs, recorded by Sir W. Penn's son.

"Upon the first Dutch war (after the restoration), "Sir William Penn being commanded to give in a "list of the ablest sea-officers in the kingdom, I do "very well remember he presented our present king "(James the Second) with a catalogue of the know-"ingest and bravest officers the age had bred; with "this subscribed, '*These men, if his majesty will* '*please to admit of their persuasions, I will answer* '*for their skill, courage, and integrity.*' He picked "them by their ability, not their opinions; and he "was in the right, for that was the best way of doing "the king's business. And, of my own knowledge, "conformity robbed the king at that time of ten "men, whose greater knowledge and valour than "any ten in the fleet had, in their room, been able

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 415, 416.

" to have saved a battle, or perfected a victory. I " will name three of them. The first was old Vice- " Admiral Goodson, than whom nobody was more " stout, or a seaman; the second, Captain Hill, that " in the *Saphire* beat Admiral Evertson hand to hand, " that came to the relief of old Tromp; the third " was Captain Potter, that in the *Constant Warwick* " took Captain Beech, after eight hours' smart dis- " pute.[1] I appeal," he proceeds, " to the king himself, " if ever he was better loved or served, than by the " old round-headed seamen, the Earl of Sandwich, " Sir William Penn, Sir John Lawson, Sir George " Ascue, Sir R. Stayner, Sir Joseph Jordan, Sir John " Harman, Sir Christopher Mings, Captains Sansum, " Cuttance, Clerk, Robinson, Moulton,[2] Wager, Tern,

[1] For the particulars of that gallant action, which took place in March 1653–4, see Whitelock (page 583), who calls Beech " Admiral of the Brest " pirates."

[2] This name has been familiar to us in the navy lists of these Memorials. Though the following inscription in the church of Walthamstow pertains not to the gallant commander here mentioned, yet it pertains to his name, and deserves to be recorded; and I know no better occasion for its introduction.

" Captain W. Moulton,
Who departed this life September 9th, 1695.
Aged 63.

Adieu! great soul, whose living glories stand,
And proudly their own monument command.
Who never struggled to resign his breath,
Though he, like Fate, could once distribute death.
The fierceness of his untamed youthful age,
Virtue and manly reason did assuage.
Danger to him such pleasing forms did wear,
His looks in fight so unconcerned were,
That he possest a peace, though deep engaged in war.
And when his frozen limbs had lost their fire,
Spurr'd with a noble and a brave desire,
Like Cæsar, with his eye could victory inspire."

Stow's *Survey of London*, App. p. 120.

" Parker, Hayward, Hubbard, Fenn, Langhorne,
" Dawes, Earl, White; to say nothing of many yet
" living, of real merit, and many inferior officers
" expert and brave. And, to do our prince justice,
" he deserved it from them, by his humility, plain-
" ness, and courage, and the care and affection he
" always shewed them."[1]

The duke had decided, that the English fleet should consist of three squadrons, to be commanded by himself, Prince Rupert, and Lord Sandwich; from which arrangement the two last, who were land-admirals, had concluded, that Penn would have no concern in this fleet. Neither the duke, Rupert, nor Sandwich, had ever been engaged in an encounter of fleets. The duke, though he had greatly distinguished himself on land, under Marshal Turenne, had never witnessed a fight at sea. Rupert, with his small, predatory squadron, had been beaten by Blake in 1650; and, though he was well practised in high-sea piracy, was wholly a stranger to naval war. He, also, was only a soldier; and though he had floated about the world in quest of plunder for three years, from the time he made himself master of the Prince of Wales's fleet, it was only as a landsman or ship-owner on board, every thing nautical being directed by the captains and officers assigned to his ships. Even Sandwich, though he had commanded fleets of war, had never yet been opposed to, nor had ever

[1] *A Persuasive to Moderation:* Works, vol. iv. pp. 345, 6. 8vo. All those brave men are noticed by Charnock, in his *Biographia Navalis*, but it is only from and after the year 1660.

seen, an enemy's fleet in order of battle. Penn alone, of the four, was familiar with all these things. By the duke's unexpected announcement, that he should take Penn with him into his own ship, Rupert and Sandwich at once discovered, that they would be really and practically under Penn's command, in every thing that regarded the conduct of the fleet in an encounter with the enemy. Then it was, that Sandwich's jealousy of Penn (that is, the land-admiral's of the sea-admiral) began to break forth, and with it, that also of his creature and shadow, Pepys. The friendship which had commenced at the navy-board, was at once corrupted to the root in the clerk of the acts; the remembrance of all the kindness and assistance which he had there experienced was at once obliterated, by the clashing of Penn's pretensions with those of his patron; not with respect to professional rank, but to professional qualification, and confidence in that particular on the part of their royal chief. Hence the "knavery and dissimulation" of Sir William Penn, in not imparting to Pepys, and through him to Sandwich, the duke's intention of taking him into his own ship, as his naval adviser and sub-commander, until his royal highness thought fit himself to declare that intention, publicly, to the officers of his board. I have not been able to find Sir William Penn's commission, but it is expressed on his monument, "*Great Captain Commander under* "*His Royal Highness.*"

"The duke," says Burnet, "found all the great "seamen had a deep tincture from their education;

" they both hated popery and loved liberty; they " were men of severe tempers, and kept good dis- " cipline." This apparently discordant union, of the love of freedom and of discipline, merits some consideration. " The truth is," says excellently the practised judgment of Captain Hall, " that man, " however fond he may be of liberty, is so essen- " tially and naturally an obedient animal, that there " are few things more satisfactory to his mind than " being well commanded. At first sight, this would " seem to imply something servile in our disposi- " tion; but experience clearly proves, that there " are few situations in which a man of spirit can " so well maintain his real independence of cha- " racter, or bring all his talents, knowledge, and " industry, into such useful operation, as when he " is acting under the vigilant superintendence of " a highly-gifted superior, who is fully competent " to judge of his conduct, and is willing to do " justice to his merits. This influence extends it- " self, in various shapes, to every class of men under " authority—to the person who possesses abilities " and is desirous of exerting them—to the inefficient, " the indolent, and even to the wicked. When a " person of talents is placed under an able com- " mander, he feels confident that nothing he does " will be passed without notice, and consequently " that his exertions must tell to his advantage, " exactly in proportion as their utility makes itself " felt. This consciousness will, of course, stimulate " him to fresh endeavours to excel; and from thus

" feeling sure that his conduct is duly appreciated, " he has an immediate motive to bring his whole " strength into play—an exercise which must ever " produce good results. A right-minded person, thus " circumstanced, will become sensible that, so far " from his office being of a servile nature, it is one " in which he obliges those whom he officially obeys, " to acknowledge his power. If, therefore, he be " only true to himself and to his duties, he may " continue as thoroughly independent as it is possible " for any man to be, whatever be the nature of his " situation in life."[1]

From the following document, it would appear that there had been much consultation respecting the flags.

" October 11, 1664.

" *Sir John Minnes his Opinion touching the bearing of Flags and Distinctions in the Fleet, in time of war.*

" The first squadron wears the standard in the main-top (if a person authorised so to do, otherwise the union-flag). The vice-admiral, the flag of the union in the fore-top, and a blue flag at the main-top, as admiral of the second squadron. The rear-admiral, the union flag in the mizen-top, and a white flag in the main-top, as admiral of the third squadron.

" The vice-admiral of the first squadron carried a red flag in her fore-top, and the rear-admiral the like in the mizen.

" The third squadron, white, as the others in their colours. All other ships, according to the squadrons they are appointed to, wear in their topmast-heads according to the colours of their squadrons: viz. the first squadron a red pennant, the

[1] Captain BASIL HALL's Fragments, &c. First Series. Vol. ii. p. 4.

second blue, and the third white, with the St. George in chief, next the top.

> "The first squadron's pennant in the main-top; the second's on the fore-top; the third in the mizen-top.
>
> "JOHN MINNES."[1]

This order of the flags, however, if it had been the order in former times, was not adopted by the duke, who assigned the red flag to his own or first squadron, the union and white flag to the second squadron, and the blue flag alone to the third squadron, as they had been assigned in the summer of 1653.[2] And it is probable, that he thought it prudent not to present to the view of the enemy a different order of flags from that which they had witnessed in their former defeats; lest any visible change in the appearance of the English fleet, should encourage in them the hope of a change also in the reception they were to experience.

"*October* 12*th.*—His majesty in council declared, that it was of absolute necessity for his service, that provision should be made of sea-victuals for 20,000 men for one whole year, to commence immediately. Ordered, and estimate of the charge."

"14*th.*—Letters to the lords lieutenant of the several counties, to cause straggling seamen to be apprehended.

"Letter to the Duke of York, from the Committee for the affairs of the Navy, conveying his majesty's commands for laying a general embargo on all ships, except *bonâ fide*

[1] From the original paper, with Sir John Minnes' signature, among Pepys' MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

[2] See the List of the Fleet in that year.

fishing-vessels, trading vessels from port to port, and the East India ships.

"Proclamation for encouragement of seamen and marines employed on the present service. Ordered to be printed."

"24*th*.—Into the galleries at Whitehall," says Pepys, "to talk with my Lord Sandwich; among "other things, about the prince's (Rupert) writing "up to tell us of the danger he and his fleet lie "in at Portsmouth, of receiving affronts from the "Dutch; which, my lord said, he would never have "done, had he laid there with one ship alone: nor "is there any great reason for it, because of the "sands. However, the fleet will be ordered to go "and lay themselves up at the Cowes. Much be-"neath the prowess of the prince, I think, and the "honour of the nation, at the first to be found to "secure themselves. My lord is well pleased to "think that, if the duke and prince go, all the blame "of any miscarriage will not light on him; and that "if any thing goes well, he hopes he shall have the "share of the glory, for the prince is by no means "well esteemed of by any body."

"26*th*.—At Woolwich. I there, up to the king "and duke. Here I staid above with them while "the ship was launched, which was done with great "success; and the king did very much like the "ship, saying she had the best bow that ever he "saw."

The following account of this launch is given in a letter from the Comte de Comminges, French ambassador at the court of Whitehall, to Lewis XIV.;

but neither the Comte, nor Pepys, have mentioned the name given to the ship.[1]

"London, October 27—November 6, 1664.

"Yesterday the King of England did me the honour to take me with him to see a vessel of 1200 tons launched, the finest and most royal I have ever seen. Whilst the painters are employed in embellishing the outside and the cabins, the ship is masted, rigged, and the guns put on board, which are of the number of 70. The lower tier consists of four 48-pounders, six 36-pounders, and the remainder, 24; and the upper tier, of six of 24, and the rest of 18: the greater part are of cast metal, though the iron are hardly inferior, of which they make some of 24 pounds calibre, which weigh very little more than those of cast metal.

"We there saw all Cromwell's old generals and captains, who are very zealous and full of confidence, on account of their last victories against the Dutch. The king said to me, before them, that '*they had all had the plague, but that they were* '*perfectly cured, and less susceptible of infection than the* '*others.*'[2] I confess to you, sire, that nothing finer can be seen than this marine; nothing more majestic than this great number of vessels, built and building, this vast quantity of

[1] It appears, however, from the Reg. of the R. Navy, among Pepys' Papers in the Bodleian, that she was called the *Royal Catherine*, in honour of the queen.

"*Royal Catherine.* Built at Woolwich, 1664. Length of keel, 120 ft.; "tons, 1004; guns, peace 72; war 82."

[2] "Nous vîmes dans ce lieu là tous les vieux généraux et capitaines de "Cromwell, bui sont fort affectionnés et pleins de confiance, à cause de leurs "dernières victoires contre les Hollandais. Le Roi me dit devant eux, *qu'ils* "*avoient tous eu la peste, mais qu'ils étoient parfaitement guéris, et moins* "*susceptibles de maladie que les autres.*" This observation of the jocular monarch to the French ambassador respecting his seamen, was not merely liberal; it rested on a truth which his good sense discerned. Their loyalty was founded on experience, reflection, calculation, and public interest; that of the others, on education, habit, passion, and private interest. The more exactly the king observed the engagements of his restoration, the more he would confirm the loyalty of the former; but, would put to various trials that of the latter.

cannon, masts, cordage, planks, and other machines requisite for that kind of warfare. The king gave us a magnificent repast in one of his yachts—drank 'the health of his 'majesty,' and commanded the company to second it, who were not remiss in performing their duty. I returned thanks, and drank to the health of the King of England. Both healths were celebrated with so many guns, that their noise brought on a change of the weather.

"During this festivity, which began to grow warm, the sea became rough, which caused scarcely less sickness than the wine; and the queen, who happened to be on the river, with her ladies, escaped the sickness, but not the alarm; all the rest experienced it, of which they gave proofs. When the storm was over, the fine weather returned, which afforded sufficient wind to put to sea, and to experience the pleasure of it, without the inconvenience of hail or rain. When all was over, the queen took the carriages that had been prepared for the king, who, being amused to see all the others sick in the storm, cared little about exposing us to it. We could not, however, reach the city in the barge; so that we were constrained to take carriages and horses at Greenwich, in order to return to Whitehall."[1]

"The same day at council," (says Evelyn), "there being commissioners to be made to take care of such sick and wounded prisoners of war as might be expected upon occasion of a succeeding war and action at sea—war being already declared against the Hollanders—his majesty was pleased to nominate me to be one, with three other parliament-men, viz. Sir William Doily, knight and baronet, Sir Thomas Clifford, and Bullein Rheymes, esquire, with a salary of 1200*l.* a-year amongst us, besides extraordinaries for our care and attention in time of station, each of us being appointed to a parti-

[1] Pepys' Correspondence, &c.

cular district, mine falling out to be Kent and Sussex; with power to constitute officers, physicians, chirurgeons, provost-marshals, and to dispose of half of the hospitals through England."

"31*st.*—All preparations against the Dutch; and "the Duke of York fitting himself with all speed to "go to the fleet, which is hastening for him; being "resolved to go in the *Charles*."

Nov. 8*th.*—Sir William Penn hoisted his flag in the *Royal James*.

"9*th.*—The Committee of the Navy to meet every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday mornings, about sea affairs, or oftener.

"Ordered, That a boat be sent down every day, to return and receive an account of his majesty's ships now fitting for sea, and the provisions, equipage, &c."

"11*th.*—That 5000 be added to the above 20,000 men, for one whole year."

"Letters to the several ports, &c. for the chief magistrates to assist the commissioners appointed by the board for providing quarters for the sick and wounded seamen."

"Letters to the hospitals of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas, for receiving sick and wounded seamen."

Instructions for Sir William Penn.

"In pursuance of his majesty's directions given to me, you are hereby required, in case this shall find you in the Downs, that so long as the wind shall continue to hinder your coming to Portsmouth, as often as you may, you send out some ships to ply in the Narrows, giving the orders, that if they meet with Dutch ships, whether homeward or outward bound, that they seize them, and send them into the

next convenient port, in order to their examination: and in case that any of them shall resist, they are to endeavour to take them by force, or destroy them, whether they be merchant-men or men-of-war. You are to direct the commanders, that, when any of them shall seize any ships as aforesaid, upon their arrival in any port, that they cause them to be delivered into the custody of the vice-admiral of the county where such port shall be, (if upon the place), or otherwise, to his deputy; giving likewise notice to the chief customer in the said port, to the end that they may join with the vice-admiral or his deputy, in taking care of such vessels and their lading, and directing the captain immediately to give notice to the committee of the council appointed for the navy. You are to direct the commanders to take special care the holds be spiked up, and all other means used for preventing embezzlement, especially of bills of lading, and other papers; that so, in case satisfaction be given to his majesty, they may be in condition to be restored. You are not to understand this to be intended for any contradiction of your former orders; but you are to take the first opportunity of bringing the ships under your command to the Spithead.

"In case any other of his majesty's ships, besides those mentioned in the former orders for your sailing, shall meet you, you are to give them the like directions, and the commanders of them are hereby required to obey your orders; and you are yourself, in your way to the Spithead, also to endeavour the seizing of all ships as aforesaid, and, if the wind favour, to bring them with you. You are to give especial directions for the speedy returning to the respective ships, all such men as be employed for the carrying in of prizes, that so the strength of his majesty's fleet may not be diminished thereby; and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

"Given under my hand, at Portsmouth, this 11th of November, 1664.

"JAMES."

"21*st.*—This day, for certain," (says Pepys), "news is come that Tiddiman hath brought in "eighteen or twenty Dutchmen, merchants, (their "Bourdeaux fleet,) and two men-of-war, to Ports-"mouth; and I had letters this afternoon, that "three are brought into the Downs and Dover; so "that the war is begun: God give a good end to "it!"

30*th.*—This day Sir William Penn shifted his flag, and took the command of the *Royal Charles.*

"*Duties of a Commander at Sea,* 1664.

(*Instructions, by Sir W. Penn.*)

"To search all private men of war, wheresoever they shall be met with, whether his majesty's subjects, or foreigners. And, in case of finding any English goods, arms, or provisions for war, merchandising, or victuals (other than properly the ship's stores), he is to make strict inquiry whence they came, and whither they are bound, and to what intent such arms and provisions, or goods, are there, and how they are come by; and, in case of not rendering a good account and answer to such demands, he is to seize and secure the said men of war, to be dealt with as his royal highness shall find cause.

"That, before the ship goes to sea, he is to quarter his men, appointing a sufficient number to manage the great guns, sails, and small shot, as is usual; that, on any occasion, each man may perfectly know his duty and station: causing a table, fairly written, to be hung in the steerage, containing all the men's names, and respective quarters in the ship; and, moreover, a small paper of the names of the men assigned to such and such guns, to be pasted to the ship's side in that quarter they are to ply, and to them there, and a boy to serve them with powder.

"That every fair day he cause the corporal to exercise the small shot, till they become perfect firemen; and afterwards, so often as may continue them so.

"That he take special care, so often as the ship comes into any port to be laid on ground to be cleaned, (that) the officers and mariners give their constant attendance aboard, to get her off seasonably and safe to her moorings; and then not think their charge and duty at end when she is moored, though it happen to be in a port where the officers and people of his majesty's yard are at hand to assist.

"That always, before his going to sea, he receive from the clerk of the check of that yard from whence he goes, a perfect book of his men's names and entries, and his check upon such as have not appeared at the latter musters.

"That, when any man shall be entered, he instantly write down, in a book kept by his own hand for that purpose, the names of such person or persons so entertained, expressing the day of the month and year; and so likewise, in the margin, the day of any man's discharge.

"That he do not discharge any man, but by order of his superior in the fleet; except, by reason of sickness or other defect, the party be incapable of doing his majesty's service. And further, that always, either upon book or ticket, he presume not to rate any person above his due merit and capacity; but that he sees them rated as ordinary seamen, grommets,[1] or boys, accordingly as they are; upon pain of refunding so much as at any time shall be overpaid, through his unjust rating and connivance.

"That he shall not account any person an able seaman that hath not constantly continued at sea seven years at least (intervals between voyages excepted); unless he hath, and

[1] This old term is not preserved, either by Falconer, Johnson, Todd, Jamieson, or Crabb. It is plain that it was derived from the Teutonic, "*grom, a youth,*" (Todd); whence also the word *groom.*

can perform the whole labour and duty of an able seaman, and be years of age.

"That he shall not make any a midshipman that hath not served seven years at sea, as abovesaid; and unless he be able to navigate the ship he belongs to (unless by special warrant).

"That he carry no servant to any person, that is, servant by covenant only for the voyage.

"That he muster once every week, and keep prick and check upon any person absent without license; that he may be enabled to set down the day of any man's running away, which he is to do upon the margin of his book. And also, he is likewise to note down the day of the death of any and every person of his company dying in the voyage.

"That he take from the slop-seller an account of the clothes by him sent on board for the use of the company, with a sample of each sort, and the several prices; and if they prove not according to the sample, to inform the principal officers thereof. And that the prices of each sort be fairly written, and hanged up in a table in the steerage, a week before the day of public sale, which is to be only at the mast, and not in private; and to none that hath not served six weeks at least, unless upon special necessity, and his particular order; and that he suffer no man to have in clothes to the value of above one-third of his wages. These public sales to be once a month; the table of prices hung out, as abovesaid; and the samples produced and exposed to public view.

"That he, with the officers that sign books and tickets, besides the purser, keep an account what each man buys, and see that the just due, and no more, be charged upon every man's head on the sea-book which they sign on coming in of the ship.

"That he take care the clothes laid in for the seamen be not, by purser or steward, disposed to any other use.

"That he, with the master and boatswain, conclude who are to be inferior officers, and rated as able-seamen, ordinary seamen, grommets, and boys; expressing the same on the sea-book without partiality or favour, upon the penalty above mentioned, and as they tender the taking away of a practice whereby his majesty hath heretofore been abused and injured."

To the rough draught of the preceding paper is appended the following draught of a letter (probably to Sir W. Coventry); both in Sir W. Penn's handwriting.

"Honoured Sir,

"Since my last unto you, concerning captain's instructions, several things, unmentioned there, have come in my mind, two or three whereof I will venture to your consideration.

"1. That the captains be required to keep strict check upon the gunner's expenses of all stores, but especially of powder; and, upon unexpected times, to seize upon all powder filled in cartridges, and see them weighed, and thereby find if they hold out with the allowance of each gun; and sometimes to seize upon the cartridges as they are in the men's hands to load the guns after they have been fired for salutes, or otherwise.

"2. That he put not the king to charge for stores abroad, but upon very urgent occasion; and then, to certify by the very first conveyance, not only the quantity of every store received by each officer, but also what the person who furnished them paid for them: that the king be in no case abused.

"3. The captain should take care, that the muster-master of the fleet have a true book delivered him; and assist him in all his musters, as the king's service shall require.

"4. That the captains, with those officers appointed to sign the sea-books and tickets, do make a perfect book once every two months, which the captain is to send to the Navy-Office; whereby the officers and commissioners of the navy may be directed to sign, or refuse, tickets coming from the ship, and prevent the signing of any false tickets.

"*Mem.* That the captains, in the late king's time, caused the commander of the ship wherein any of his majesty's subjects were found, to pay them their wages; which proved a discouragement to them to entertain any of his majesty's subjects in the future; as the contrary would encourage them to employ the king's subjects, in hopes of profit thereby. &c.

"WILLIAM PENN."

"*December 3d.*—The Duke of York," says Pepys, "is expected to-night with great joy from Portsmouth, after his having been abroad at sea three or four days with the fleet; and the Dutch are all drawn into their harbours. But it seems like a victory; and a matter of some reputation to us it is, and blemish to them; but in no degree like what it is esteemed at, the weather requiring them to do so."

"*6th.*—To the Old Exchange, and there hear that the Dutch are fitting their ships out again; which puts us to new discourse to alter our thoughts of the Dutch, as to their want of courage or force."

"31*st.*—Public matters are all in a hurry about a Dutch war; our preparations great; our provocations against them great; and, after all our pre-

"sumption, we are now afraid as much of them as
"we lately contemned them. My Lord Sandwich
"at sea with the fleet at Portsmouth, sending some
"about to cruise for taking of ships, which we have
"done to a great number. This Christmas I judged
"it fit to look over all my papers, and to tear all
"that I found boyish or not to be worth keeping, or
"*fit to be seen, if it should please God to take me*
"*away suddenly.*"

1665.

"*January* 15*th*, 1664-5.—With Sir William Penn "in his coach to my lord chancellor's," says Pepys, "where by and by Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Penn, Sir "John Lawson, Sir George Ascue, and myself, were "called in to the king, there being several of the "privy council, and my lord chancellor lying at "length upon a couch (of the gout, I suppose); and "there, Sir William Penn spoke pretty well, to dis- "suade the king from letting the Turkey ships go "out; saying, in short, the king having resolved to "have 130 ships out by the spring, he must have "above 20 of them merchantmen. Towards which, "he, in the whole river, could find but 12 or 14, "and of them the five ships taken up by the mer- "chants were a part, and so could not be spared. "That we should need 30,000 sailors to man these "130 ships, and of them in service we have not "above 16,000; so that we shall need 14,000 more. "That these ships with their convoys carry about "2000 men, and those the best men that could be got; "it being the men used to the southward that are the "best men for war, though those bred in the north, "among the colliers, are good for labour. That it "will not be safe for the merchants, nor honourable "for the king, to expose these rich ships with his "convoy of six ships to go, it not being enough to "secure them against the Dutch, who, without "doubt, will have a great fleet in the Straits. This,

" Sir J. Lawson enlarged upon. Sir G. Ascue chiefly " spoke, that the war and trade could not be sup- " ported together.

" Mr. Coventry shewed how the medium of the " men the king hath, one year with another, em- " ployed in his navy since his coming, hath not been " above 3000 men, or at most 4000 men; and now, " having occasion of 30,000, the remaining 26,000 " must be found out of the trade of the nation. He " shewed how the clothes sending by these merchants " to Turkey, are already bought and paid for to the " workmen, and are as many as they would send " these twelve months or more; so the poor do not " suffer by their not going, but only the merchant, " upon whose hands they lie dead; and so the in- " convenience is the less. And yet, for them, he " propounded, either the king should, if his treasurer " would suffer it, buy them, and shewed the loss " would not be so great to him; or, dispense with " the Act of Navigation, and let them be carried out " by strangers; and ending, that he doubted not but " when the merchants saw there was no remedy, " they would and could find ways of sending them " abroad to their profit. All ended with a convic- " tion (unless future discourse with the merchants " should alter it) that it was not fit for them to go " out, though the ships be loaded."

As Clarendon was never consulted on naval affairs, which was the cause of his virulence towards Coventry and Coventry's friends, and as the king condescended to hold a council at Clarendon's house,

in consequence of his being confined to his couch, it appears pretty plain, that this single occasion caused that generalising judgment which the learned chancellor has recorded, and which he formed under the united irritation of anger and of gout.

"In all conferences with these men," he says, "Mr. Coventry's presence and attendance was necessary, both to reduce all things into writing which "were agreed upon, and to be able to put the duke "in mind of what he was to do. Lawson was the "man of whose judgment the duke had the best "esteem; and he was in truth, of a man of that "breeding, (for he was a perfect tarpawlin), a very "extraordinary person. He understood his profession incomparably well; spoke clearly and pertinently, but not pertinaciously enough when he "was contradicted. Ascue was a gentleman, but "had kept ill company too long, which had blunted "his understanding, if it had been ever sharp: he "was of few words, yet spake to the purpose, and to "be easily understood. Penn, who had much the "worst understanding, had a great mind to appear "better bred, and to speak like a gentleman; he "had got many good words, which he used at "adventure:[1] he was a formal man, and spake very "leisurely but much, and left the matter more "intricate and perplexed than he found it. He was

[1] That he was fond of what Clarendon calls "good words," appears, indeed, in his early correspondence; but the Clarendonian adjunct, that he "used them "at adventure," does not appear, for his words certainly fit their places. He did not aspire, however, to teach elocution, as Clarendon did, how to fight a ship.

"entirely governed by Mr. Coventry,[1] who still "learned enough of him to offer any thing rationally "in the debate; or to cross what was not agreeable "to his own fancy, by which he was still swayed by "the pride and perverseness of his will."[2]

"*February* 11*th*, *Portsmouth.*—The *Royal Charles* has been careened afloat this week, and the *Royal James* is to follow on Monday next; which is an experiment of great use, and never practised heretofore."[3]

"*March* 9*th*, *Monday*, *Portsmouth.*—Upon Tuesday, about four afternoon, his majesty arrived here in good health, embarking himself yesterday morning in the *Catherine;* and so he went on board the *Charles*, the *James*, the *Triumph*, the *Resolution*,[4] and the *Royal Oak;* finding them all in a very brave condition, and full manned with an excellent choice of seamen and soldiers. His majesty was pleased this morning to go aboard the *Royal Oak* again, and the *Henry*, where he took a sudden dinner with Sir George Ascue, the commander of her. It cannot be expressed how strangely his majesty's personal appearance, in all these princely offices of

[1] Clarendon forgot that he had before stated, that "Coventry was guided by "Penn in all things." (See above, p. 233.) How to bring the angry writer out of this apparently vicious circle, I do not inquire.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 354. 8vo. Oxon.

[3] *Intelligencer*, *February* 16*th*, 1664–5, "Published for satisfaction and in-"formation of the people, with privilege." It may be well to state in this place, that the *Intelligencer*, at that time directed by Sir Roger L'Estrange, licenser of the press to the king, was the official newspaper until November of this year, 1665. It was then succeeded by the *Gazette*, which was first called the *Oxford Gazette*, the court being at that time at Oxford on account of the plague in London. "*November* 22*d.*—This day," says Pepys, "the first of the "*Oxford Gazette* came out, which is very pretty, full of news, and no folly in "it, wrote by Williamson." After the cessation of that calamity, and the return of the court to Whitehall, it was denominated the *London Gazette*, which appellation it has from that time retained.

[4] Shortly after called the *Royal Prince*. See above, vol. i. p. 492, *note* 3.

tenderness and care, operates upon the affections and resolutions even of every individual person in this action; who, to say the truth, are of themselves forward enough to push the dispute as far as glory and revenge can carry it."

"*March 8th.*—This morning," says Pepys, "is "brought to me to the office the sad news of the "*London*, in which Sir John Lawson's men were all "bringing her from Chatham to the *Hope;* but a "little on this side the buoy of the Nore, she sud- "denly blew up. About twenty-four men and a "woman, that were in the round-house and coach, "saved; the rest, being above 300, drowned; the "ship breaking all in pieces, with eighty pieces of "brass ordnance. She lies sunk, with her round- "house above water. Sir John Lawson hath a great "loss in this of so many good chosen men, and "many relations among them.

"*10th.*—At noon to the Change, where very hot "people's proposal of the city giving the king ano- "ther ship for the *London* that is lately blown up. "It would be very handsome, and, if well managed, "might be done; but I fear if it be put into ill hands, "or that the courtiers do solicit it, it will never be "done."

"*11th, Whitehall.*—His majesty returned this "evening to Whitehall."

15th.—Previous to the departure of the fleet, the king was pleased to send the following instructions to his solicitor-general, Sir Heneage Finch:

"Whereas, there is now depending an act for the settlement of our kingdom of Ireland; and whereas we think it

just and reasonable to express our favour to our trusty, &c., Sir William Penn, Knt., in securing his title and interest to his lands there: we therefore do will and require you to insert a beneficial clause in the said bill, in these or the like words: 'And be it enacted, that the letters patent under the Great Seal of that our kingdom made, or which hereafter shall be made, by virtue of our warrant under our privy signet, bearing date the 10th day of March, 1664, containing a grant to the said Sir William Penn and his heirs, of certain lands in the county of Cork, shall be good, valid, and effectual in the law, according to the true meaning and purport thereof, any thing, &c., and, &c. the 15th of March, 1664-5.[1]

"By, &c.

"To our Solicitor-General."

"*March 24th.*—His royal highness the Duke of York went early on Thursday morning toward the fleet, attended with divers eminent and honourable persons; since which time several volunteers of great quality have followed. It is beyond dispute, that this nation never brought to sea so formidable a fleet as his majesty hath now designed for this expedition, which, being now ready to sail, a proper care was taken to complete the preparation, by an order for a general fast, to be observed on April 5th, to implore the blessing of God upon his majesty's forces employed against the Dutch.

"31*st*, *Dover.*—To answer your inquiry touching the royal navy: they that speak least report it to be near upon eighty sail, besides that it increases daily; and is undoubtedly, for the choice of ships and men, the bravest fleet of Christendom. This is a cause which, to give the people their due, all men look upon as the common interest of the English nation. But, over and above that natural obligation, the presence and example of his royal highness has influenced them with an impatience of action, and with a resolution even

[1] Warrant Books, State-Paper Office, vol. ix. p. 61.

To face page 317, vol. ii.

LIST OF THE ENGLISH FLEET, MARCH 29, 1665.

From a MS. List of the Fleet in the British Museum.

His Royal Highness's *Squadron, who bears the Standard, bear the Red.*

	Men.	Guns.	
First Rate.			
Royal Charles	550	78	H.R.H. the D. of York, Ld. Ad. *Sir W. Penn, Gt. Capt. Com. *John Harman, Capt.
Second Rate.			
Royal Oak	450	76	*Sir J. Lawson, Vice-Adm.
Swiftsure	300	60	Sir W. Berkeley, R.-Adm.
Old James	300	68	Earl of Marlborough, Capt.
St. George	360	60	*Joseph Jordan.
Third Rate.			
Fairfax	300	58	Robert Salmon.
Mary	336	56	*Jeremy Smith.
Gloucester	260	58	Robert Clerk.
Plymouth	280	56	Thomas Allen.
Fourth Rate.			
Leopard	240	54	Richard Beach.
Bristol frigate	200	48	John Hart.
Happy Return	190	50	*J. Lambert.
Yarmouth	190	52	Thomas Aliph.
Diamond	190	46	Thomas Goulding.
Antelope	190	50	John Chicheley.
Dover	170	46	Geof. Pierce.
Bonadventure	160	40	Arthur Langhorne.
Sapphire	160	38	Henry Hyde.
Amity	150	36	John Parker.
Guinea	150	36	John Alleson.
Convertine	160	48	John Pearce.
Portsmouth	160	38	— Moore.
Fifth Rate.			
Success	155	30	Edward Grove.
Fountain	140	30	Mons. Du Telle.
Mermaid	145	30	*John King.
Norwich	135	28	John Weswain.
Coventry	125	22	William Hill.
Sixth Rate.			
Drake	85	12	Richard Poole.
Martin	65	14	S. Tickel.
Little Mary	75	12	Ab. Blacklesch.
Fourth Rate.—Hired Ships.			
Royal Exchange	220	46	S. Wentworth.
Coast frigate	150	34	William Lawson.
Loyal George	190	42	John Earle.
George	190	40	Robert Key Tubb.
Satisfaction	180	40	Richard May.
Blackmore	170	38	Robert Neale.
Eagle	220	56	——
King Ferdinando ..	180	42	——
Ships, ... 38.	7443	1560	(besides some 100 guns not reckoned.)
(Besides 750 men not reckoned)..	750		
	8193		
Fire Ships.			
Fame			John Gething, French prize.
Bramble			Nept. Brawn, Spanish prize.

Prince Rupert's *Squadron, who bears the Union Flag, and his Vice-Admiral a White Flag.*

	Men.	Guns.	
First Rate.			
Royal James	500	78	H.H. Prince Rupert. John Kempthorne, Capt.
Second Rate.			
Triumph	380	66	Chr. Mings, Vice-Adm.
St. Andrew	360	60	Val. Pine.
Rainbow	320	56	Willoughby Hannam, Capt.
Third Rate.			
Resolution	290	58	Rob. Sansum, Rear-Adm.
Henrietta	358	58	*Walter Wood, Capt.
Anne	280	58	*Arthur Browne.
Revenge	260	58	Robert Holmes.
Monk	260	54	Thomas Penrose.
Lion	260	52	Edward Spragge.
Fourth Rate.			
Newcastle	200	48	Thomas Page.
Mary Rose	190	48	William Reeves.
Kent	180	46	Thomas Evans.
Portland	180	46	Jo. Aylett.
Ruby	180	46	William Jennings.
Advice	170	40	William Poole.
Reserve	170	46	Jo. Tirwhyt.
Assurance	150	32	*Jo. Jefferyes.
Expedition	140	30	Tob. Sackler.
Bear	170	42	Jo. Waterworth, Dut. pr.
Fifth Rate.			
Milford	155	28	Jo. Seale.
Colchester	145	28	Daniel Haylin.
Garland	145	28	Ch. Talbot.
Speedwell	135	26	Jo. Lightfoot.
Hector	125	22	John Cuttle, Span. prize.
Sixth Rate.			
Paradox	85	14	Leon. Guy, Span. prize.
True-Love	75	16	—— Pench.
Merlin	85	14	—— Hayward.
Fourth Rate.—Hired Ships.			
E. India Merchant	180	44	Jo. Wilgresse.
Bendish	190	42	*R. Taylor.
Return	190	40	J. Hubbard.
Exchange	170	36	S. Wentworth.
John and Abigail ..	120	32	——
Constant Catharine	100	38	—— Sanderson.
Catharine	160	34	Jo. Elliot.
Ships, ... 36.	6423	1464	
Besides 690 men not reckoned.			
	7113		
Fire Ship.			
Dolphin	45		W. Gregory.
Ketches ... 6			
Elisabeth frigate			Captain Nixon.

Earl of Sandwich's *Squadron, with his Vice-Admiral, carry the Blue.*

	Men.	Guns.	
First Rate.			
Prince	700	86	Earl of Sandwich. *Roger Cuttance, Capt.
Second Rate.			
Henry	430	70	Sir G. Ascue, Vice-Adm.
Royal Catharine	450	70	T. Tiddiman, Rear-Adm.
Unicorn	320	56	*Henry Tedman, Capt.
Vanguard	320	56	Jonas Poole.
Third Rate.			
Montague	300	58	*Henry Fenn.
York	280	58	Jo. Swanley.
Dreadnought	280	58	Henry Terne.
Essex	260	52	Ri. Uther.
Dunkirk	260	54	*Jo. Hayward.
Fourth Rate.			
Princess	220	52	George Swanley.
Jersey	190	48	H. Hyde.
Centurion	180	46	Robert Moulton.
Swallow	180	46	Ri. Hodges.
Breda	180	46	*Robert Kirby.
Assistance	170	40	Zach. Brown.
Dragon	160	38	Jo. Lloyd.
Hampshire	160	40	George Batts.
Adventure	150	36	Ben. Young.
Providence	140	30	——
Marmaduke	150	38	Jo. Best.
Fifth Rate.			
Guernsey	145	28	H. Coningsby.
Forester	145	28	Edward Cotterell.
Pembroke	145	26	Thomas Darcey.
Oxford	135	24	Phil. Bacon.
Paul	125	28	Peter Foot, Dutch prize.
Lizard	115	20	Jo. Andrews.
Little Gift	85	16	Jo. Johnson, Span. prize.
Blackmore	65	14	Jo. Barton.
Fourth Rate.—Hired Ships.			
Good Hope	130	34	Ant. Archer.
Hambro' Merchant	170	36	*James Cadman.
John and Thomas ..	—	—	Hen. Dawes.
Castle frigate	160	36	Phil. Evatt.
Society	160	36	——
Golden Phœnix	160	36	Sam. Dickinson.
Maryland	140	41	Abr. Analey.
Ships, ... 36.	6900	1413	(besides some omitted.)
Fire Ship.			
Briar	45		Ri. Cotton.
Ketches ... 6			

* The captains marked with an asterisk had commanded ships in the victories of June and July, 1653; others of the same were commissioned, and joined the fleet before the fight of June of this year. See, above, the list of the fleet in 1653, and Charnock, *Biog. Nav.*

to outdo themselves, who, upon all occasions, have never yet failed of an advantage over the Dutch. The fleet is now divided into three squadrons; the first, under the command of his royal highness; the second, under his highness Prince Rupert; and the third, under the Earl of Sandwich: and it is officered throughout in proportion to the dignity and conduct of these eminent leaders."—*Intelligencer.*

"*April* 11*th*, *Whitehall.*—The last news from the fleet speaks it to be increasing daily, and in such a condition already, that little more can be desired for the honour and advantage of it. His royal highness continues to keep the whole under his eye and care; observing so strict a regard for every circumstance which may import his majesty's service and the common interest of the kingdom."

The feelings of the king and of the nation were highly excited, as the season of conflict drew near. The younger Penn thus wrote to his father, on the 23d of April:—

"From Harwich, 23d April, 1665.

"HONOURED FATHER,

"We could not arrive here sooner than this day, about twelve of the clock, by reason of the continued cross winds and (as I thought) foul weather. I pray God, after all the foul weather and dangers you are exposed to, and shall be, that you come home as secure. And, I bless God, my heart does not in any way fail; but firmly believes, that if God has called you out to battle, he will cover your head in that smoky day. And, as I never knew what a father was till I had wisdom enough to prize him, so can I safely say, that now, of all times, your concerns are most dear to me. It's hard, meantime, to lose both a father and a friend. &c.

"W. P."

And having been afterwards despatched with letters

from the fleet, then lying at Gunfleet, he thus wrote again to his father, under date,

"Navy Office, 6th May, 1665.

"At my arrival at Harwich, (which was about one of the clock on the Sabbath day, and where I staid till three), I took post for London, and was at London the next morning by almost daylight. I hasted to Whitehall, where, not finding the king up, I presented myself to my Lord of Arlington and Colonel Ashburnham. At his majesty's knocking, he was informed there was an express from the duke: at which, earnestly skipping out of his bed, he came only in his gown and slippers; who, when he saw me, said, 'Oh! is't you? how is Sir William?' He asked how you did at three several times. He was glad to hear your message about *Ka*. After interrogating me above half an hour, he bid me go now about your business, and mine too. As to the duchess, he was pleased to ask several questions, and so dismissed me. I delivered all the letters given me. My mother was to see my Lady Lawson, and she was here. I pray God be with you, and be your armour in the day of controversy! May that power be your salvation, for his name's sake! and so will he wish and pray, that is, with all true veneration,

"Honoured father,

"Your obedient son and servant,

"William Penn."

On the 1st of June, the English fleet weighed anchor from Solebay. The Dutch fleet had sailed from Holland on the 13th and 14th of the preceding month.

And here I request my naval readers, to collate and compare the "*Instructions for Sailing, and for "Fighting,*" contained in the Duke of York's *Orders*, 1665, in Appendix (L) of this work, with those pre-

LIST OF THE DUTCH FLEET, MAY 23, 1665.

(From "Doorgd. Zeetocht des Generves," &c. Amsterdam, 1665. 4to.

The First Squadron,

Under the Heer ORDAM, *carrying the Standard on the grand Mast.*

Captains.	Ships.	Guns.	Men.
The Heer WASSENAER[1]			
Gt. Adm. of Holland and	*Concord*	84	500
W. I. Company			
Vander dusk, V.-Ad.	*Amsterdam*	...	...
Albert de Graef, R.-Ad.	*Prinsenhof*	...	...
De Reus (E. ind.)	*Mauritius*	78	450
Jacob Swart	*Vrymoedigheyt*	62	250
Jan Van Amstel	*Liberty*	60	250
Henry Gerritsen	*La Rose*	56	230
Otto de Vosbergen	*Le Lion*	56	230
Nicahof	*La Pigeon*	...	...
Jacq. Broedersen	*Le Dom d'Utrecht*	46	220
Jacq. Willemsen	*Hardervelde*	48	210
Adam de Broedersen	*Haerlem*	48	200
Balt van de Vosbergen	*Amsterdam*	40	180
Herm. Wolf	*De Swarte*	38	160
Polme, *Pastillon*	*De Swarte*	18	80

The second Squadron,

Under the Heer JOHN EVERTSEN.

Le.-Adm. J. Evertsen	*Zeelandt in Zeelandt*	76	300
Pieroot, De Liefde	*Stadt Hollandia*	52	204
R.-Ad. Corn. Evertsen, junr.	*Thomas*	...	...
Sebast. Sentenar (E. Ind.)	*Orange*	75	450
Jacq. de Wit	*Prince Maurice*	50	250
Jacq. Pense	*Middelburg*	44	200
Jacq. Kleydijck	*Dordrecht*	44	200
Cuyrnus	*Princes de Zeelandt*	44	200
Christien Ellerson	*Utrecht*	38	130
Jacq. de Boshuysen	*De 9*	32	130
Jean Banequart	*Delft*	...	...
Jan. Bloc.	*Zeelandt*	...	...
Jean Krijnsen	*Rotterdam*	20	131
Adrian Soldewagen	*Enkhuysen*	24	125
Le Postillion	*Le Chiffonne*	...	...
Jean Pietersz.	*Dolphin*	...	...
Yatt, *la barque d'avis*		...	...

The Third Squadron,

Under the Heer ERNEST MICHIEL DE CORTENAER, *Carrying the Standard on Mast de St. Antoine.*

V.-Adm. Cortenaer	*Unard Huysendal*	70	350
R.-Adm. Dirk Schey	*Rotterdam*	70	325
R.-Adm. Nic. Marrevelt	*Dordrecht*	58	220
Corsinen Pool (E. Ind.)	*Utrecht*	70	400
Gilbert Matthysz.	*Haerlem*	62	290
Joos Verschluer	*Amsterdam*	56	230

[1] Jacob van Wassenaer, Baron de Obdam.

[2] *Pastillon*, expression [illegible]

The Third Squadron.—(*Continued.*)

Captains.	Ships.	Guns.	Men.
Corn. Hoogenhoeck	*Provinces*	52	220
Henry Tol	*Duyvewoorde*	52	220
Anton. de Marre	*Wakende Boey*	52	220
Isbrand de Vries	*Doesburgh*	48	210
Gerbrand Boes	*Tergoes*	48	200
Pool (E. Ind.)	*Sphera Mundi*	40	200
Hesevelt	*Pastorelle*	40	180
Jean vander Mats	*La Vierge*	38	160
Jean van Blanckenburg	*Oosterpoel*	38	160

The Fourth Squadron,

Under the Heer STELLINGWERF, *Le Guidon Jaune.*

Le.-Adm. Stellingwerf	*Sevenwolden*	70	300
V.-Adm. Cuenders	*Groeningen*	...	...
R.-Adm. Bruyswelt	*Princess Albertina*	50	235
De Rechter (E. Ind.)	*La Maison de Sweten*	70	300
De Boer	*Oostergo*	62	325
Tirk Hiddes	*Delfzyl*	48	253
Jean Vyselaer	*Westergo*	54	253
Kat. (E. Ind.)	*Mars*	46	210
Corn. Oostrom	*Oostergo*	50	235
Byma	*Friesland*	...	...
Barent Hiddes	*Le Lion, de Smyrne*	...	...
Joos Michielsz	*Holland*	44	230
Jacq. Petyt	*Flushing*	40	200
W. C. vander Burg	*Ylst*	38	180
Vogel	*Jacht*	18	80

The Fifth

Under the Heer Co[illegible]OMP,[1]

Le Guidon

V.-Adm. Tromp	*Lio*	82	400
V.-Adm. G. Campen	*Cat*	60	240
R.-Adm. P. Salomonsen	*Cat*	54	22[illegible]
Commer Gerrards	*Lov*	60	
Jean de Haen	*Vil*	60	
Jean Honcklaer	*Ne*	44	5[illegible]
Arien de Reede	*Tr*	5[illegible]	
Tho. Fabricius	*Jan*	5[illegible]	
Jean Adelaer	*Mi*		20[illegible]
P. Uythuhout	*Gro*		11[illegible]
H. Vollenhove	*Sol*		
Berchout	*Pr*		
Corn. Burger	*Bu*		
Joos Smient	*Ro*		11[illegible]
Adrian van Veen	*Ar*		
H. Haenerov	*Vo*		12[illegible]
L. le Brune	*Pa*		80

[1] Son of the great T[illegible]

The Sixth Squadron,

Under the Heer CORNELIUS EVERTSEN.

Captains.	Ships.	Guns.	Men.
V.-Adm. C. Evertsen	*Flissingen*	...	...
Corn. Cuyper	*Swanenburg*	...	...
S. Loncken	*Pastill., Pescheur*	...	...
R.-Adm. Banequert, V.-Ad.	*Terveer*	50	230

These three arrived from Zealand after the fight, the 12th of June, N.S. (24 O.S.)

R.-Adm. P. Bromfuegt	*Trois Heros de David*	...	...
Jacq. Houduert	*Utrecht*	44	200
Q. Kerchove	*Rotterdam*	50	230
A. de Haes	*Dordrecht*	44	200
L. Heemskerck	*La Paix*	...	...
Jacq. de Cam	*Gorchum*	34	150
Jean Maethijssen	*Chevalier de Mer*	32	140
A. Cruyninger	*Tergoes*	34	150
A. Banequaert	*Le Pasteur des Pescheurs*	...	...
M. Loncken	*Westerdel*	40	180
Frans Nidick	*Briel*	20	100
P. Woutersen	*Tuo*	20	100
Will. Henderix	*Zeelande*	...	...
A. Pietersen	*Barque d'Avis, Windhond*	6	40

The Seventh Squadron

Under the Heer WOUTER SCHRAM.

V.-Adm. Schram	*Armes de Nassau*	...	...
V.-Adm. Staeghouder	*Concorde*	52	256
R.-Adm. Houtuyn	*Medenblick*	58	290
Boer	*Gelre*	60	290
Bebberen	*Le Pavey d'Hollande*	56	260
J. Kuyten (E. Ind.)	*Carolus V.*	58	230
Yost (E. Ind.)	*Vogelenest*	52	220
Matt (E. Ind.)	*La Bourse*	52	240
Slore	*Jawa*	50	250
Bruevis	*Westfrise*	60	290
Buysman	*Jupiter*	45	200
Hallsboorn	*Jean Prince*	30	160
G. Posthoorn (E. Ind.)	*Agata*	30	125
N. Schalthoorn	*Schram*	32	140
Vytol	*Le Corne*	32	160
Fois	*Chasteau Aix-en-Ehlick*	30	140

Before the battle, she returned to port with [illegible] sts.

The Eighth Squadron.

This squadron put to sea the 11th (21) of June, but did not go near the Fleet.

Canter	*Villes et Villages*	...	...
Claut	*St. Pierre*	38	140
Bouman	*Le Grand Pescheur*	38	140
Brouwer	*Le Petit Pescheur*	36	130
Bisschop	*Zutphen*	48	160
Barent Hals	*Leyde*	26	120
Cort. Thomasen	*St. Paul* (E. Ind.)	40	200
Jent Raep	*St. Paul* (E. Ind.)	40	183
Braeckel	*Postill. Kat*	...	...

These returned again to the Texel.

viously issued by Sir W. Penn in 1655, and given above in chapter v., pages 59 and 76; of the latter of which, the following is the first article.

"*Instructions for fighting.*

General Penn, 1655.

"*Instr.* 1. Upon discovery of a fleet, receiving a sign from the general (which is to be striking the general's ensign, and making a weft), one frigot appointed out of every squadron is to make sail, and stand with them so nigh as conveniently they may, the better to get a knowledge what they are, and of what quality; how many fire-ships, and others; and conclude on the report they are to give, and accordingly repair to their respective squadrons, and commanders in chief; and not to engage (if the enemies' ships exceed them in number), except it shall appear to them on the place they have an advantage," &c.

"*Instructions for fighting.*

H. R. H. the Duke of York, 1665.

"*Instr.* 1. Upon discovery of a fleet, *and* receiving *of* a sign*al* from the *admiral* (which is to be *the* striking *of* the *admiral's* ensign, and making a weft), *such* frigots *as are* appointed (*that is to say*, one out of *each* squadron) *are* to make sail, and *to* stand with them, so nigh as *they can* conveniently, the better to *gain* knowledge what they are, and of what quality; how many fire-ships, and others; *and what posture their fleet is in: which being done, the frigots are to speak together*, and conclude on the report they are to give, and accordingly *to* repair to their respective squadrons and commanders in chief; and not to engage (if the enemies' ships exceed them in number) *unless* it shall appear to them on the place that they have an advantage," &c.

Compare also the following instructions:[1]

For Sailing.		*For Fighting.*	
1655.	1665.	1655.	1665.
1	1	2	2
2	2	3	13
3	26	4, 5, 6	22
4	7	7	6
5	5	8	5
6	13	9	11
7	20	11	18
8	15	12	20
9	11	13	21
10	12	14	24
11, 12, 13	14		
14	19		
15	9		

Coventry (who had a better stomach for such adventures than the clerk of the acts confesses[2]) gallantly attended his royal master in the *Charles*, as his secretary. "The duke's family, that were "numerous in his own ship," says Clarendon (whose

[1] It will be plainly seen, by the verbal correspondence of these several articles, that the latter are only a revision, new arrangement, and extension of the former; and the naval reader will, with demonstration, trace the Duke of York's *Instructions* to their true source. The 3d article of the duke's, of *dividing the enemy's fleet*, has certainly no corresponding article in the former; but the identity of all the other articles proves the quarter chiefly consulted by the duke in drawing out his own Instructions. The part of Penn's 3d article, which respects *forming a line*, is replaced in the duke's 13th article by the words, "*such order of battle as shall be given*," which words comprehend all the various modifications of the other.

[2] See above, page 292, 3d October.

ears were as open to gossip as to state-affairs), "were "not at ease—they grew into factions between themselves, and the Earl of Falmouth[1] and Mr. Coventry "were rivals who should have most interest in the "duke, who loved the earl best; but thought the "other a wiser man, who supported Penn even "against the earl, who contemned Penn as a fellow "of no sense, and not worthy of the charge and "trust that was reposed in him. In this discomposure, and having nothing to do, every body grew "angry at the occasion that brought them thither, "and wished for peace. The Earl of Falmouth, as "in a time of leisure, was sent by the duke with "compliments to the king, and to give him an "account of the good state of the fleet. He visited "the chancellor (Clarendon), to whom he had always "paid great respect, and made many professions; "and he told him, 'that they were all mad who 'had wished this war, and that himself had been 'made a fool to contribute to it; but that his eyes 'were open, and a *month's experience at sea* had 'enough informed him of the great hazards the 'king ran in it.' He reproached Penn 'as a sot, 'and a fellow he thought would be found without 'courage.'"[2]

"*June* 3*d.*—All this day by all people upon the "river, and almost every where else hereabout, were "heard the guns, our two fleets for certain being "engaged; which was confirmed by letters from

[1] Sir Charles Berkeley, created Earl of Falmouth.

[2] Continuation, &c. vol. ii. p. 385, 8vo. edit. Oxon.

" Harwich, but nothing particular: and all our hearts " full of concernment for the duke; and I particu- " larly for my Lord Sandwich and Mr. Coventry, " after his Royal Highness."

Intelligencer, June 5th. Letter from Dover. — " I need not tell you, how plainly we heard the guns here upon the joining of the two fleets; but we were much comforted to observe the shooting to remove still further and further off; by which we were induced to believe, that his majesty's navy drove the Hollanders before them, There is very great care taken for the speeding of all necessaries for the use and service of the navy; and particularly recruits of men and shipping, which are daily dispatched for sea: all people being not only willing, but forward and ambitious to have a share in the glory of so noble an action, where they have princes for their companions in the danger, the whole Christian world for their spectators, and the honour and well-being of the English nation depending upon the issue of the battle."

" June 8th.

" *A Summary Narration of the signal Victory which it pleased Almighty God to bestow upon his Majesty's Navy, under the Command of H.R.H. the Duke of York, against the Fleet of the State of the United Netherlands, on the 3d of June,* 1665.[1]

" It is for general satisfaction, and to prevent misreports (which are commonly, through ignorance or malice, begotten upon occasions of this nature), that this present *Narrative* is printed. And, to the end that it may be rendered distinctly and intelligibly (the matter bearing it very well on our side), it shall begin with the first appearance of the Dutch

[1] Transcribed from Sir W. Penn's copy of the " *Narration*," printed separately (like an Extraordinary Gazette); and afterwards published in the *Intelligencer*. (Br. Mus. (c. 2257), *Political Tracts*, 19. 1661–1665.)

fleet on our coast; brought thither rather (in all probability) in expectation of finding ours in disorder upon the preceding foul weather, and drawn by the reports of our unreadiness, than from their own innate valour; though, the report of the story shews they had sufficient of that, to accompany them in this great undertaking.

"Upon their first appearance, which was on June 2d, at two of the clock, it cost H. R. H. but little time to make ready; his foregoing care, and the cheerfulness of our men, having prevented all hazard of disorder; and the happy arrival of the colliers' fleet at that instant having supplied the only want we had, of men: which the Dutch fleet no sooner perceived, but they stood off to sea again, keeping the wind of us (wind S.W.); sometimes standing again, to see whether indeed we durst follow them; keeping themselves in good order. Their number was then judged to be 110 sail, and 10 fire-ships. The first good omen that shewed itself on our side, was the firing a great ship of theirs that evening, then believed to be one of their flag-ships; which we since have learned was a great fire-ship, so disguised to do the more mischief.

"*June* 2*d*.—We followed them till night, and endeavoured by several tacks to get the windward quarter, which H. R. H. happily effected, being not full two leagues further into the sea than we were the evening before; which being gained, they bore up towards us, and gave the first broadside at sun-rising, Saturday, 3d. But, finding they could not get from us, they bore up to Vice-Admiral Minnes, and gave him a broadside, who received them accordingly; and so their whole fleet passed by ours, firing at every ship as they went, and receiving returns from them; not one, of either side, being out of play at this first encounter. Immediately upon which, H. R. H. made his sign for the tacking, that we might still keep the wind of them, which was happily executed, notwithstanding that the enemy also strove for it. In the second

pass, the *Swiftsure* bore the first brunt, which was performed on both sides as the former. In the third (wherein we also kept the wind), Prince Rupert and Captain Minnes led the way; but the enemy endeavouring to get the head of our whole fleet, we engaged *in a line;* and as we bore towards them, they still bore off, yet steering the same course; so that it was not then a fight of *board and board,* but offending one another with great shot, we being at too great a distance to make use of our small. Which way of fighting seeming tedious to us, about one of the clock *we passed so near about the middle of them, that we divided their fleet.* About three of the clock Opdam's ship was blown up (as we suppose, by a lucky shot in the powder-room), which amazed their whole fleet, as it encouraged ours; so we *fell in pell-mell* with them. After which, it will be hard, till stories are well composed, to give a particular account of what happened. Upon the whole matter, God hath been pleased to give his majesty a great and signal victory; the enemy being driven into the Texel, as far as the draught of water and the condition of our ships would permit; the day being also very far spent. The sum of all is, the enemies' whole fleet is defeated; the greatest part of them gone into the Texel, others in the Maes; about thirty of them burnt or taken; Opdam, with his ship, blown up; Tromp and Cortenaer, Skram and Stellingwerff, all their seven admirals but John Evertson, killed, with many more of their principal officers; and, according to their general computation, near 8000 seamen and soldiers. On our side, only one single ship (the *Charity*) lost; Sir John Lawson received a slight hurt in his knee; the Lord of Marlborough, the Lord of Portland, Capt. Athelton (Ableson) of the *Guiney,* Capt. Kirby of the *Breda,* and Rear-Admiral Sansum, were slain; also the Lord of Falmouth, the Lord of Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, which three last were killed by one unhappy shot on board his royal highness, and close to his own person: God of heaven be praised for having preserved him to be the

great instrument of so signal a success, to the honour of his majesty, and the good of his people!

Imprimatur, June 8, 1665.

ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

"London: *Printed by Richard Hodgkinson, living in Thames Street, over against Baynard's Castle.* 1665."

"8*th.*—On the same day that the preceding account was published, a second report arrived, in a despatch from Mr. William Coventry, the duke's private secretary; who was on board the *Royal Charles,* by his royal master's side, during the whole of this fierce engagement.

"With great joy to the cock-pit," says Pepys, "where the Duke of Albemarle, like a man out of "himself with content, new told me all: and by "and by comes a letter from Mr. Coventry's own "hand to him, which he never opened (which was "a strange thing), but did give it me to open and "read, and consider what was fit for our office to "do in it, and leave the letter with Sir W. Clerk; "which, upon such a time and occasion, was a "strange piece of indifference, hardly possible. I "copied out the letter, and did also take notes out "of Sir W. Clerke's other letters."

A Second Narrative, &c.

Licensed, June 10*th, by Roger L'Estrange.*

London: Printed by Richard Hodgkinson, 1665.

"H. R. H., after his return from the court of Holland, where he had lain before the Texel, taken their merchant-ships, and used all possible means to provoke the Dutch to a battle; having certain intelligence, not only that the Dutch fleet had

taken to sea, but that they publicly declared their intentions of seeking out the English fleet; and further, that the *Good Hope*, with their convoy from Hamburgh, had unfortunately fallen into their hands: judging that all these circumstances might tend to the disreputation of his majesty's affairs, became very impatient of delay. And though many of the provisions necessary for the fleet were not yet on board, H. R. H. resolved to carry the fleet from the Gunfleet, near Harwich, to Sould-bay, and there to take in the remainder of victuals and other stores; that being a more open place, and therefore more proper for going out to the Dutch, in case they should attempt any bravado upon the English coast. In prosecution, therefore, of that resolution, the fleet weighed anchor at high water, on the 30th of May, (carrying with them the victualling ships and other stores), the wind being at south-east; but it did not long continue so, but veered to the east-south-east, east, and east-north-east; so that we were forced to stop tides; and, using all our endeavours, we could not arrive at Sould-bay till June the 1st, about six in the morning, where we anchored, about five miles from the shore.

"Between twelve and one of the clock this day, H. R. H. being at dinner, news was brought that a great fleet was discovered to the east-south-east of us, about some six leagues off, which, concluding to be the Dutch, H. R. H. ordered the victuallers to Harwich, and the fleet to weigh and to get farther off the shore, which was done accordingly, till the flood. When we came again to an anchor, the Dutch kept under sail, and endeavoured to keep to the south-east and east-south-east of us. At ten of the clock that night we weighed anchor again, the wind being at east. We did our best to get up with the Dutch fleet, but they being to windward of us, it did not depend upon our choice; so that the Dutch keeping upon a wind, in the morning, June 2d, we saw them about five leagues south-east from us, the wind varying from the south-east to south, south-east-south, and

south-south-east. At eight in the evening Lestoff bore north-west, about eight leagues off, and the Dutch fleet was then about three leagues off, standing off with their star-board tacks on board, and we stood after them, but they stayed not for us.

"*There was a great desire in the fleet to have engaged the Dutch this day, which had twelve years since been so fortunate to the English against the same enemy.*[1] What other reason, besides the ill fortune of that day, the Dutch could have to decline the fighting us then, when they might have had the wind of us, we can neither conjecture nor learn from any of the prisoners since taken.

"This evening one of the enemies' sternmost ships was fired. Some of our men persuaded themselves it was one of their admiral's; but we since understand, by prisoners, it was one of their fire-ships, which took fire before her time by the drunkenness of her commander. Whatever it was, our men believed the best; and as it was no small joy to see our enemies' ship so easily destroyed, so they took it for a good omen of a future victory.

"This night we kept sight of the enemy all night; and the wind veering to the south-west, between two and three of the clock in the morning, June 3d, we lay to weather of the Dutch fleet; which they perceiving, tacked and stood with us, but could not weather us, being, as we suppose, about fourteen leagues from Lestoffe, south-east southerly. At half an hour past three in the morning the battle began; Prince Rupert's squadron having the van, and, of that squadron, Vice-Admiral Mings. H. R. H.'s squadron was in the body, and that of the Earl of Sandwich in the rear. The first salute the Dutch received from Prince Rupert's squadron, (animated by the example, as well as orders, of that valiant prince), made

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 491, &c. The seamen deemed it no impeachment of their loyalty to remember their former victories, though the cavaliers vainly wished to bury them in oblivion.

them doubt whether the victory over the English were either so certain or so easy, as the Herr de Wit, and their countrymen who were to stay at home, had persuaded them. Both fleets having passed thus by one the other in a line, there was, for a considerable time, a perfect quiet, without shooting one gun. About six of the clock we tacked, and stood to the west-north-west, and they to the south-south-east, and passed by one the other, there being again an intermission from shooting. Upon this tack the Dutch endeavoured to get the wind of us, which they hoped to have done; which H. R. H. foreseeing they would endeavour, kept so close to the wind, that when the Dutch tacked, hoping to weather Prince Rupert, they found H. R. H. to weather them; and therefore, rather than pass between two lines of our fleet, they chose to bear to leeward of Prince Rupert. We stood not long that way, but H. R. H. ordered the rear of his majesty's fleet to tack first, that so we might the better and sooner get up with the headmost of their fleet.

"This was not done without some intermixture of the ships of the several squadrons, but yet without any considerable prejudice. This being executed, H. R. H. making sail with his squadron, he came to be the headmost squadron of the line, and had Sir John Lawson, with some other ships of his squadron a-head of him, with which, keeping up to the headmost of the enemies' ships, we kept them to leeward of us, and never suffered them to tack, but kept the wind of them the whole day. The fight continued long, and the Dutch made very considerable resistance; but it was observed that as we bore in upon them they altered their course; so that, whereas they might have lain up south-south-east, they bore off to the east-south-east. H. R. H., who had observed in the beginning of the battle the endeavour of the Dutch to gain the wind, and by what means it was prevented, and also the great benefit we had by it, by securing us against the enemies' fireships, (in which they had placed a great part of

their hopes), had always a regard to the keeping that advantage which God had so favourably given us, which, with the concurrence of another accident, did somewhat prolong the battle. The continual smoke would not give us leave to see very far before us what the enemy did; and therefore the actions of others were in some measure to be the guide even of the admiral. H. R. H., therefore, having seen Sir John Lawson, with his accustomed valour, bear in towards the enemies' line, but soon after to edge off again to windward, concluded that Sir J. Lawson had seen some of the enemies' ships endeavouring to get the wind of us; and therefore, to prevent that, H. R. H. kept near the wind, which was a guide to the whole fleet. But this mistake was understood a little while after, by a message from Sir J. Lawson, who privately sent to give H. R. H. an account that he was hurt, and for that time incapable of service, (though, thanks be to God, without danger of life); so that we perceived the working his ship, which led us into that error, was through the want of their commander, the master being also hurt. H. R. H. therefore ordered Captain Jordan to go on board the *Royal Oak*, after which she did excellent good service. This error being now perceived, and about the same time Opdam's ship (which was known by a pendant under his flag) coming up to lie almost opposite in their line to H. R. H.'s ship in ours, H. R. H. was pleased to give command to bear up to him, saying, 'He would himself have a bout with Opdam,' (for so he termed it); in which being obeyed, and the whole fleet taking example by the working of H. R. H.'s ship, we began to ply our guns at so near a distance, that the enemy began to shrink apace, though not absolutely to run.

"Whilst things were in this condition, it pleased God, (who had, through the whole conduct of this great business, wonderfully favoured us), by an extraordinary operation of his almighty hand, to facilitate our work, and to shorten the danger to which his H. R. H. had resolved to expose his own

person, by the blowing up of Opdam's ship; which, as it was a great joy to the English, so it could not but infinitely discourage the enemy, who did not stand long after, but (we bearing in upon them) presently fled, we following them, and taking and burning their ships until night; when, not being able to do any more service upon them, we only endeavoured to keep so much sight of them as to be up with them in the morning, when we again followed the pursuit (taking divers of their ships) unto the very mouth of the Texel; where their ships getting into shoal water, and being perfectly acquainted with the place, we durst not adventure so near the shore with our ships, which were not in a condition to bear much sail if there should have been need for bringing them off again. We stayed in sight of the Texel till we saw their ships go in, which they did not neglect to do the first tide.

"In the beginning of the battle, two of our ships, not being able to weather the enemy, fell into their fleet; and one (which was the *Charity*, a ship taken from the Dutch in the last war) tacked, hoping thereby to help herself, but was taken. The other, a merchant-ship in the king's service, called the *John and Abigail*, Captain Joseph Saunders, commander, finding himself amongst them, resolved to stand the same way with our own fleet, and to receive the enemies' broadsides, which he had so near, as with them to receive our threats also; and was honoured with a broadside from Opdam's own ship, and a vice-admiral, betwixt whom he lay. But the enemy was too much in haste to attend one single ship; so that with a considerable loss of men, and the battering of his ships, masts, rigging, and sails, he came safe to his majesty's fleet. During the battle there came in to us three of his majesty's ships returned from the Sound, as also the *Leopard* from Harwich. To the Dutch came young Evertson with three ships.

"To give an account of the particular actions of his majesty's commanders, would be not only tedious but inju-

rious to many, whose merits would seem less if not named. Nor would it be less injurious to all those who have done well (if any actions were to be particularised), not to name (with reproach) those who have been wanting to their duty. Let it therefore suffice for an evidence of the bravery of his majesty's commanders in general, that the invincible Dutch fleet is by them overcome. Though I will not conceal from you that I hear it said, H. R. H. doth not think it sufficient that they do better than the Dutch, but will expect that they shall do as becometh Englishmen. And therefore it is thought, this occasion having made some discovery of the tempers of some men, who could not be known before, some altercations will be even amongst the victorious. For the generality of the English seamen, it is certain, that greater or more valiant hearts are not to be found in any race of men, nor more indefatigable; of which a greater instance could not be than this battle, which was of such continuance, that, if separated from the labour, the danger alone would have been insupportable to any other sort of men; and perhaps would have been so to them also, had not the danger awakened their courages, and redoubled their spirits.

" Having told you of a ship of his majesty's lost, if I should give over here you might think we had lost the victory; and therefore it is necessary to give you some account of the enemies' loss, and our gain; which, nevertheless, in the present uncertainty, you must give me leave to do as accomptants use, with a reserve of (errors excepted), endeavouring notwithstanding, so far as may be, to tell you nothing for certain which is not so. First, then, you must know, that besides Opdam's ship (which we saw blown up, and, besides, have since spoken with some of the men who were saved), there was taken, and afterwards fired (that so she might not clog us in the pursuit), the *Orange-Tree*, a ship of 76 guns. There were afterwards four of their ships, in the pursuit, fell foul the one of the other, and were by one of his majesty's

fire-ships set on fire; one of them was the ship *Couverden*, in which was Tromp's vice-admiral, Gillies Tysse Campen, carrying 60 guns; the *Prince Maurice*, Capt. de Clerk, carrying 50 guns; the *Stodt Utrecht*, Capt. Oudart, 44 guns; and a fourth, which was, I think, called the *Stedan*, carrying about 40 guns. After these were all on fire, and our ships passed by, one of them, burning to her powder, blew up, and with the blast blew away all the rigging, masts, &c. of one of them of about 40 guns, which was on fire, and so enabled some of the Dutch, who remained there, to quench the fire and save the ship; at least to preserve their own lives till some of their ships passed that way. But whether they towed her into harbour, or not, we know not: an accident very extraordinary, and which it was not reasonable to expect or provide against. This was observed by some of the boats and ketches, which were sent to save the lives of the poor men who were left to the two unmerciful elements. A little after this were likewise burned, by another fire-ship, three ships which were fallen foul one of another; the one called *Masseeven*, Jacob Rowse, commander, of 78 guns; the *Tergoe*, of 34 guns; and Capt. Cuyper's ship of 30 guns.

"Of ships taken, I am not able to give you a perfect account, in regard some are (as we hear) gone directly for England, and others not yet come to the fleet. Some of the ships taken, are,

The Mars	46 guns.
Zealand	44
Carolus Quintus	53
Delft	32
Nagelbôome	52

"We hear of others taken by other ships, of which we have not the names; but do conclude we have destroyed them 23 or 24 men-of-war, at the least. By the next you shall have a more perfect account.

"According to what we learn from the prisoners, there were slain, of the Dutch commanders of note (besides Opdam), Cortenaer, Stellingwerf, Schram; and (most say) Tromp; but for the certainty of this the curious must expect letters from Holland.

"On our part were slain, the Earl of Marlborough, Rear-Admiral Sansum, Capt. Ableson, and Capt. Kirby, commanders. Of volunteers of note, fell the Earl of Portland, Earl of Falmouth, Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, second son to the Earl of Burlington: (the three last by one fatal shot.) I cannot find that the Dutch commanders taken can give any exact account of the number of ships in their fleet. That which they seem most persuaded of is, that they had about 100 sail besides fire-ships. I believe the king's fleet was within very few of 100 sail: a force worthy on either side to contend for so great a stake.

"The number of men killed, and taken from the Dutch, I conjecture may be about 8000. What the numbers on the side of the English are, I have not yet heard computed; but by the conjectures which may be raised from the account of some of the ships which were in the hottest of the action, it may be concluded, that never was so great a victory obtained against the Dutch, with so small loss on the side of the English."

This "*Second Narrative*" is no other than Coventry's letter to Monk, mentioned by Pepys, but without its epistolary form. This is shewn by the French translation[1] of that letter in the "*Vie de Ruyter*," 1677, where the epistolary form, with

[1] Basnage, in his *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 742, refers to a Dutch translation of Coventry's letter: "Voyez la Relation de W. Coventry, "apud *Aitzema Boek*, xlv. p. 379."

Coventry's subscription, is preserved. I have made every research within my power to find the English original in that form, but have not succeeded.

It is remarkable, that in this first battle of the present war, as in the last of the preceding, the chief commander of the Dutch fleet perished in the heat of action. The last time the duke and Opdam had met before this encounter, was under very different circumstances; namely, in the joy and festivity with which the king had been saluted by the States of Holland at his departure from the Dutch coast to take possession of his hereditary crown. The Dukes of York and Gloucester, says Pepys, came on board; and, after spending an hour in allotting to every ship their service, on their return to England, "they went "to dinner, where the table was very full; the two "dukes at the upper end, my Lord Opdam on one "side, and my lord (Sandwich) at the other. Two "guns given to every man while drinking the king's "health, and so likewise to the duke's health."

After pursuing the flying enemy as far as was practicable on a lee-shore, (the wind blowing fresh from the south-west), the Dutch ships having gained their harbours, the duke left the fleet to the command of the Earl of Sandwich, and returned to Whitehall. We shall resume this part of the subject in the next chapter.

The wound received by Lawson in the action, was not at first thought to be dangerous. The progress of its effect is thus noted by Pepys:

"*June 8th.*—Sir John Lawson, wounded in the knee,

hath had some bones taken out, and is likely to be well again."

"16*th.*—Sir John Lawson is come to Greenwich; but his wound in his knee yet very bad."

"17*th.*—Sir John Lawson, I hear, is worse than yesterday: the king went to see him to-day most kindly. It seems his wound is not very bad; but he hath a fever, a thrush, and a hickup, all three together, which are, it seems, very bad symptoms."

"25*th.*—To Greenwich by water, thinking to have visited Sir John Lawson, where, when I come, I find that he died this morning; and indeed the nation hath a great loss."

"24*th.*—Sir William Penn," says Pepys, "told "me this day, that Mr. Coventry is to be sworn a "privy counsellor, at which my soul is glad."

"28*th.*—I did take my leave of Sir William "Coventry,[1] who, it seems, was knighted, and sworn "a privy counsellor, two days since; who with his "old kindness treated me, and I believe I shall ever "find a noble friend."

"*July* 2*d.*—Sir J. Lawson was buried late last "night at St. Dunstan's (in the East) by us,[1] without "any company at all."

"This," says Campbell, "was the end of Sir John "Lawson, a man who owed all things to his merit; "and who, after doing so many and great services "to this nation, wants, for any thing I can learn, "a tomb." We are indebted to Pepys' Diary for being able to rescue the generation which he served

[1] On becoming privy counsellor he quitted the navy board.

[2] The principal officers and commissioners of the navy. There is no monument to his memory at St. Dunstan's.

from a part of this reproach; yet it is no small discredit to that generation, that greater honour and more public attention were not shewn to his remains, in the last tribute of feeling that they could pay to his glorious memory.

"It looked," says Clarendon, "like some presage "that he had of his own death, that, before he went "to sea, he came to the treasurer and the chancellor, "to whom he had always borne much respect, and "spoke to them in a dialect he had never before "used, for he was a very generous man, and lived "in his house decently and plentifully, and had "never made any the least suit or pretence for "money. Now he told them, 'That he was going 'upon an expedition in which many honest men 'must lose their lives; and though he had no appre-'hension of himself, but that God would protect him 'as he had often done in the same occasions, yet he 'thought it became him against the worst to make 'his condition known to them, and the rather because 'he knew he was esteemed generally to be rich.' "He desired them, therefore, 'That if he should 'miscarry in this enterprise, the king would give his 'wife two hundred pounds a-year for her life; if he 'lived, he desired nothing. He hoped he should 'make some provision for them by his industry; nor 'did he desire any other grant or security for this 'two hundred pounds yearly, than the king's word 'and promise, and that they would see it effectual.' "The suit," says Clarendon, "was so modest, and "the ground of making it so just and reasonable,

" that they willingly informed his majesty of it, who " as graciously granted it, and spake himself to him " of it, with very obliging circumstances; so that " the poor man went very contentedly to his work, " and perished as gallantly in it, with an universal " lamentation."[1] Clarendon has here the merit of rendering justice, very feelingly, to the character of Lawson.

The general sum of this day's victory was thus stated in 1670, five years after it took place, by Sir William Penn's son, then become eminent among the Quakers, in a " *Vindication of his deceased father* " *against an anonymous libeller*,"[2] &c. " His service " in the last Dutch war, will not be questioned by any " man that dares to set his name to it: not that I " would be thought to justify wars, I know ' *they* " *arise from lusts.*' But, this being matter of *fact*, " I shall take leave to tell this libeller, that the " success of the first engagement, *where about* 24 " *ships were taken, burnt, and sunk;* 2500 *prisoners* " (*said to be*) *brought home, besides what were slain* " *and wounded, of the Hollanders; at the expense of* " *but one old Dutch prize* (*that for want of sail fell* " *into their body*) *and about* 300 *Englishmen slain;* " *has been greatened, beyond all common eulogies, by* " *the unsuccessfulness of later engagements, whence* " *greater things were promised and expected.*"[3]

[1] Continuation, vol. ii. pp. 393, 4. 8vo. ed. Oxon.

[2] *Truth rescued from Imposture*, Part III. Works, vol. i. p. 496. fol.

[3] Alluding to the actions of the following year, 1666, under Monk and Rupert.

The Lord Muskerry, eldest son of the Earl of Clancarty, who fell on board the *Charles*, was sister's son to the Duke of Ormonde; "a young man," says Clarendon, "of extraordinary courage and expecta-"tion, who had been colonel of a regiment of foot "in Flanders under the duke, and had the estimation "of an excellent officer: he was of the duke's bed-"chamber." The following letters from Ormonde to his mother and sister, on the occasion of his nephew's death, reveal the tenderness of that estimable nobleman's heart, as his whole life demonstrated the ardour of his loyalty and heroism.

To his Mother, the Lady Thurles.

"MADAM,

"It has pleased God, in the late fight betwixt us and the Dutch, to give the king a great victory, and your ladyship, and us that are come from you, a great loss, in the death of my nephew Muskerry, who was killed close by the Duke of York with a great shot; which also took away the Earl of Falmouth, and Mr. Richard Boyle, the Earl of Cork's second son. I was desired to give my sister Clancarty notice of this misfortune befallen her; but I conceive it will be needful that your ladyship should send for her, or at least some of her friends to her, to give some stop to her grief, which the solitude she is in may too much nourish. His death is a great loss to his friends and family; and is as generally lamented here as any body's. But, since it is our daily prayer that God's will should 'be done,' it should be our practice to submit to it, with humility and resignation, when it is done. Your ladyship is not now to learn this lesson;

nor I so proper an instructor, that have much ado on this occasion to understand it myself. I am, with all duty,

" Madam,

" Your ladyship's most obedient son,

" Whitehall, June 9, 1665. ORMONDE."

To his Sister, the Countess of Clancarty.

" DEAR SISTER,

" It is not the length, or words of a preamble, that can abate the bitterness of the matter. I shall therefore, without the affliction of circumstances, tell you; it falls to my share to inform you, that your son Muskerry was killed in the late conflict betwixt the king's fleet and that of the Dutch. He was close by the duke his master's side; and with him were killed the Earl of Falmouth, and Mr. Richard Boyle, the Earl of Cork's son. That your son is generally lamented, and well spoken of, may aggravate your sense of such a loss; yet it must come to your knowledge; and I, that partake in the loss, and am thought fittest to let you know it, cannot forbear to say it.

" It must be the work of some time, but principally of pious reflections upon the submission and resignation due from us to the good pleasure of God, to give consolation proportionable to such an affliction. May that God, who gives and takes, and always for the best (if it be not our own fault), send you all the comfort you need; and make us all ready for that hour, which we must all come to, and which your son has passed with honour in this world, and (I doubt not) with happiness in the other.

" I am, my dearest sister,

" Your most afflicted but most affectionate brother,

" Whitehall, June 9, 1665. ORMONDE."[1]

[1] Familiar Letters of the Duke of Ormonde. CARTE, vol. ii. p. 121, Append.

Mr. Richard Boyle, who fell by the same ball, was the second son of the Earl of Burlington, and had been member for Cork in 1661. "He was a "youth of great hope," says Clarendon, "who came "newly home from travel, where he had spent his "time with singular advantage; and took the first "opportunity to lose his life in the king's service. "There were many other gentlemen volunteers in "the same ship, who had the same fate."

There is another letter, which I place high amongst the most excellent documents of its kind, and which I rejoice to have an opportunity of bringing again before the world; and especially before my naval readers, because it speaks in that clear and piercing tone of *truth*, which finds no where a readier entrance than into the ear of a British seaman. It was written by James Ley, earl of Marlborough, whilst the fleet was cruising off the coast of Holland, six weeks before he fell in this action, in the command of the *Old James;* and was addressed to his friend Sir Hugh Pollard, comptroller of his majesty's household.

"*Letter written on Shipboard upon the Coast of Holland by the Right Hon. James Earl of Marlborough, a little before his death, directed to the Right Hon. Sir Hugh Pollard, Comptroller of His Majesty's Household.*

"SIR,

"I believe the goodness of your nature, and the friendship you have always borne me, will receive with kindness the last office of your friend. I am in health enough of body, and (through the mercy of God in Jesus Christ) well disposed in mind. This I premise, that you may be satisfied that what

I write proceeds not from any fantastic terror of mind, but from a sober resolution of what concerns myself, and earnest desire to do you more good after my death, than mine example (God of his mercy pardon the badness of it!) in my lifetime may do you harm. I will not speak aught of the vanity of this world; your own age and experience will spare that labour. But there is a certain thing that goeth up and down the world, called *religion*, dressed and pretended fantastically, and to purposes bad enough, which yet by such evil-dealing loseth not its being. The great good God hath not left it without a witness, more or less, sooner or later, in every man's bosom, to direct us in the pursuit of it. And, for the avoiding of those inextricable disquisitions and entanglements our own frail reasons would perplex us withal, God in his infinite mercy hath given us his holy word; in which, as there are many things hard to be understood, so there is enough plain and easy to quiet our minds, and direct us concerning our future being. I confess to God, and you, I have been a great neglecter, and, I fear, a despiser of it: God of his infinite mercy pardon me the dreadful fault! But, when I retired from the noise and deceitful vanity of the world, I found no true comfort in any other resolution than what I had from thence. I commend, from the bottom of my heart, the same to your (I hope) happy use. Dear Sir Hugh, let us be more generous than to believe we die as the beasts that perish; but, with a Christian, manly, brave resolution, look to what is eternal. I will not trouble you farther. The only great God, and holy God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, direct you to an happy end of your life, and send us a happy resurrection! So prays

"Your true friend,

"*Old James*, near the coast of Holland, April 24, 1665." MARLEBURGH.[1]

[1] KENNETT's History of England, vol. iii. p. 276.—James Ley, earl of Marlborough, was the only grandson of James Ley, lord high treasurer, created

"I beseech you to commend my love to all mine acquaintance: particularly I pray you, that my cousin Glascock may have a sight of this letter, and as many friends besides as you will, or any else that desire it."

"The Earl of Marlborough," says Clarendon, "who had the command of one of the best ships, "and had great experience at sea; having made "many long voyages at sea, and being now newly "returned from the East Indies, whither the king "had sent him with a squadron of ships, to receive "the island of Bombay from Portugal; was a man of "wonderful parts in all kind of learning, which he "took more delight in than his title; and having no "great estate descended to him, he brought down "his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but "with more reputation than any fortune could have "given him. The Earl of Portland was a volunteer "on board his ship, and lost his life by his side, "being a young man of very good parts, newly "come of age, and the son of a very wise and wor-"thy father, who died few months before; and he "having a long and entire friendship with the Earl "of Marlborough, his son, though of a melancholic

Baron Ley, of Ley, *in com. Devon* (22 Jac.), and Earl of Marlborough, 1 Car. II.: "which James (the younger, says Dugdale) being a person excellently skilled "in navigation, and other points of mathematical learning, was made lord "admiral of all his majesty's ships at Dartmouth and the parts adjacent; and "employed to the American plantations in anno 1662. But, in anno 1665, "commanding that huge ship called the *Old James*, in that great fight at sea "with the Dutch upon the 3d of June, was there slain with a cannon-bullet, "without issue."—(DUGDALE'S *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 452.) His friend, Sir Hugh Pollard, died the 27th Nov. of the following year.—(EVELYN.)

" nature, intended to lead an active life, and to apply " himself to it under the conduct of his father's " friend, with whom he died very bravely."

" The trouble and grief in many noble families " for the loss of so many worthy and gallant persons," adds the same writer, " could not but be very lament- " able in wives, in fathers, and mothers, and the " other nearest relations; but no sorrow was equal, " at least none so remarkable, as the king's was for " the Earl of Falmouth. The universal joy that he " saw in the countenance of all men, for the victory " and the safety of the duke, made no impression in " him towards the mitigation of his passion for the " loss of this young favourite, in whom few other " men had ever observed any virtue or quality which " they did not wish their best friends to be without; " and very many did believe, that his death was a " great ingredient and considerable part of the vic- " tory. He was young and of insatiable ambition; " and a little more experience might have taught " him all things which his weak parts were ca- " pable of."[1]

Clarendon had previously pronounced the Earl of Falmouth to have been " a young man of a dissolute " life, and prone to all wickedness;" and had stated, that " in order to traduce the Duchess of York, he " had declared himself to have had criminal inter- " course with her;" though he afterwards confessed, that his declaration " was false, and without the least

[1] Continuation, &c. vol. ii. p. 395, 8vo.

"ground, and that he was very confident of her "virtue."[1] Nevertheless, we have just seen with what promptitude and willingness Clarendon received, and has recorded, Falmouth's obloquy of Sir W. Penn; merely, because that young worthless lord "had always paid great respect, and made "many professions," to him, Lord Clarendon.[2] Besides these, the most prominent personages; there fell in the action, of commanders, Captain Sansum of the *Resolution,* Captain Kirby of the *Breda,* and Captain Ableson of the *Guinea.*

The Duke of York, in his Life written by himself, and published by Macpherson, gives the following statement of the first part of this great action. His royal highness's account of the latter part, will find its place in the next chapter.

"At three in the morning the fight began. When the Dutch van came up, the duke ordered the signal to be given for his whole fleet to tack; but the sailor, who had got up the mast to give the signal, was so long about it, that before he could let the flag fly, Opdam had, with the van, bore up round, ship after ship, and brought his starboard tacks on board; which the enemy's van seeing, sprung their luff, hoping to weather most of the white squadron. The duke observing this, stopped the intended signal, lest it might put the whole fleet in disorder; and instead of bearing up round, as most of the white had done, he tacked only when it came to his turn. This little accident lost above six hours; and then the duke gave the signal, whereby the whole fleet tacked at once. Both fleets had now their starboard tacks on board,

[1] Continuation, &c. vol. i. pp. 387, 392. [2] See above, p. 321.

and lay as close hauled as they could. But the Dutch found great benefit by this accident; for, had the signal been given as soon as it was intended, both the English and they would have had their larboard tacks on board, and would have stood towards the coast of England; so that, when the Dutch gave way, they would have been more exposed, by having a greater run to make toward their own coast.

"In the two first passes little damage was done: the Dutch only took the *Charity*, of fifty guns, a slow sailer, which had been taken from them in the first Dutch war. Both fleets endeavoured to get the wind. The Duke of York, in the *Royal Charles*, a very good sailer, got a-head of the Earl of Sandwich, who was in the *Prince*, a heavy sailer, though the stoutest ship in the fleet. Had not the duke done so, the Dutch would have stretched out a-head, and might have weathered him. The duke, with the red squadron, had now the van, the blue the battle, and the white the rear.

"The heat of the engagement began at ten in the morning; a fresh gale at south-west, and not a cloud in the sky. The duke bore down on Opdam: about two P.M. the Dutch fire began to diminish. Opdam was blown up at the third shot of the duke's gunner. All the Dutch fleet ran, except the *Orange*, commanded by Sebastian Seaton, a Scot, who attempted to board the Duke of York, but was hindered by Sir Jeremy Smith, who, by a broadside, killed sixty of his men; and the *Royal Catherine* pouring in another, the *Orange* struck. The *Marsoman*, of 80 guns, and two other Dutch ships, were burnt by a fire-ship after they had struck. The duke ordered the captain of the fire-ship to be tried; but he fled before the time appointed for his trial. The Dutch were chased to the mouth of the Texel; but they got in, the English having no fire-ship to fasten on them. The duke stood out to sea again, and returned to the buoy of the Nore. He sent scouts to watch the Dutch, who took two of their ships of 40 guns. The command of the fleet, by the king's

orders, was left to the Earl of Sandwich; and the duke, with Prince Rupert, went to court."[1]

I must leave to my naval readers to supply, from their own knowledge and experience, the probable course of proceedings which is to connect this statement with the first narratives.

Let us now take a review of that great conflict:

In the first of the foregoing official narratives, we possess the earliest distinct record of an English fleet, in column, passing the enemy's line so nearly about the middle as to *divide his fleet*, according to the 3d article of the Duke of York's fighting instructions; in modern phrase, *breaking* or *cutting through the enemy's line*. This unostentatious statement of the fact of the operation shews, both that the commander of that fleet was well aware of its nature and importance, and also, that he regarded it as an advantage obvious to watchful and resolute seamanship. The document that contains this statement, and which certainly was not written with any reference to a recent controversy, has existed in print since the 8th of June, 1665; and has lain from that time, on the shelves of all our libraries which contain either the separate narrative, or the *Intelligencer* of that date, unheeded by all the writers of our naval histories. It is here to be observed, that Hoste does not present this second battle of the Texel as an example of an English fleet formed in line for the first time, abso-

[1] Macpherson's State Papers, vol. i. p. 29.

lutely, as Macpherson has erroneously done; for he had already shewn, on the evidence of an eye-witness, that the English fleet was formed in line to leeward of the Dutch, in the first battle of the Texel, in 1653;[1] but he presents it as a perfect example of a fleet formed in line, close hauled to the wind, and bearing down into the enemy's line to leeward, according to the Duke of York's 7th instruction.[2]

"HOSTE, ch. v.

"*L'Ordre de Bataille.*

"Dans un combat les armées se rangent sur deux lignes parallèles à une des deux lignes du *plus-près*. Tous les vaisseaux portent au plus-près sur quoi les armées sont rangées, et ils sont à un cable les uns des autres. Les brulots, et les bâtimens de charge, sont à une demi-lieue au large de l'armée, du côté opposé à celui que les ennemis occupent.

"EXEMPLE.

"*Combat du Texel*, 1665.

"Cet ordre fut exactement gardé pour la première fois, dans le fameux combat du Texel, où le Duc d'Iork, à présent Roy d'Angleterre, défit les Hollandais le 13 Juin, l'an 1665; et c'est à sa majesté Britannique que nous en devons

[1] See vol. i. pp. 509, 510.

[2] This great action has been called by our writers, the battle of Lowestoffe or Leostoffe, from having been fought fourteen leagues at sea, in the parallel of that most easterly point of England. The great action of the 31st of July, 1653, fought off Camperdown, appears to have received no particular denomination amongst us. So striking, however, are the features of *fraternity* in the two, as has been shewn in vol. i. p. 406, that I shall here again record them, in the terms of Hoste, as the *first and second battles of the Texel;* that the one may not efface the other, but that both may henceforth live together, in the memory of naval history, in union and articulation as intimate as the Siamese twins.

toute la perfection. L'armée d'Angleterre étoit de cent vaisseaux de guerre; l'armée de Hollande en avoit plus, quoiqu'elle n'eût pas tant de vaisseaux à trois ponts. Les deux armées se trouvèrent en présence au point du jour, et le vent étant au sud-ouest, *elles se rangèrent sur deux lignes parallèles au sud-sud-est; et elles occupoient chacune près de cinq lieues en longueur;* celles des Anglois avoit le vent. Le Duc d'Iork, qui commandoit l'armée d'Angleterre, s'étoit mis au corps de bataille, et il avoit donné son avant-garde au Prince Robert, et au Comte de Sandwich son arrière-garde. Le Sieur Opdam, amiral de Hollande, s'étoit aussi mis au milieu de son armée par le travers du Duc d'Iork, et il avoit opposé le Vice-Amiral Tromp au Prince Robert. On se canona depuis trois heures du matin jusqu'à onze, avec beaucoup de chaleur de part et d'autre, sans que la victoire se déclarât pour l'un ou pour l'autre parti. Les Hollandais avoient pris un vaisseau Anglois, qui par une bravoure téméraire voulut seul traverser leur ligne; mais ayant arrivé de temps en temps au sud-est, ils avoient marqué que le feu des Anglois leur faisoit de la peine. A onze heures, le Duc d'Iork fit *arriver* tout sa ligne sur l'ennemi, arrivant lui-même sur Opdam. Cette action renouvella l'ardeur des combattans. Le bruit effroiable des canons, les débris des vaisseaux, la chûte des mâts, une fumée épaisse et mêlée de l'éclat du feu que les vaisseaux vomissoient en sautant, tout cela donnoit à ce combat tout l'horreur qu'on peut imaginer. On dit que l'Amiral Opdam étoit, cependant, assis sur le haut de sa dunette, d'où il voyoit, avec un merveilleux sang-froid, dans son vaisseaux l'horrible désordre que le canon du Duc d'Iork y faisoit. Le grand nombre de corps morts qui couvroient ses ponts, les cris lamentables de ceux qui étoient blessez autour de luy, la grêle de boulets qui avoit coupé une grande partie de ses manœuvres; rien ne pouvait l'empêcher de donner ses ordres, et d'encourager les siens par ses paroles, et par son exemple. Sur les deux heures après midi, le Duc d'Iork fit le signal

pour *arriver tout-à-fait* sur l'ennemi, et les Hollandais commencèrent à ne pas tant *pincer le vent*. Opdam seule, et *l'Orange*, vaisseau à trois ponts, ne changèrent point leur route; mais un moment après, Opdam aiant reçû de fort près toute la bordée du Duc d'Iork, son vaisseau sauta en air, sans qu'on ait pû sçavoir par quel accident, quoiqu'il y eût cinque hommes de son bord qui se sauvèrent. Les Hollandais, qui avoient déjà perdu plusieurs navires, voiant sauter leur amiral, firent *vent-arrière* pour se retirer au Texel. Le Duc d'Iork les poursuivit avec un ardeur incroiable jusqu'à l'entrée de leur port: il leur prit ou brûla vingt-deux vaisseaux de guerre, dont vingt étoient de cinquante à quatre-vingts pièces de canon: et il remporta sur eux la plus glorieuse victoire, et la plus complète, qu'on eût encore gagné sur la mer. Elle ne coûta qu'un vaisseau aux Anglois, avec la perte de trois à quatre cens hommes."[1]

[Translation.]

"EXAMPLE.

"*Second Battle of the Texel*, 1665.

(See vol. i. p. 510.)

"This order was strictly observed, for the first time, in the famous battle of the Texel, in which the Duke of York, now king of England, defeated the Dutch, on the 13th of June, in the year 1665; and it is to his Britannic majesty

[1] HOSTE. "Explication des termes de marine dont on se serve dans cet ouvrage."

"*Arriver.*—C'est quand on est à la voile, tourner l'arrière du vaisseau du côté du vent.

"*Pincer le vent.*—C'est aller à la voile le plus qu'on peut contre le vent.

"*Plus-près.*—Se dit d'une des deux lignes par où le vaisseau va à la voile le plus qu'il se peut contre le vent.

"*Revirer.*—Se dit d'un vaisseau, qui après avoir couru d'un côté au plus-près, change de route pour courir au plus-près de l'autre côté. *Revirer vent-devant*, c'est, revirer en venant au vent. *Revirer vent-arrière*, c'est, revirer en arrivant.

"*Rumb.*—C'est une des trentes-deux pointes de la rose des vents."

that we owe all its perfection. The English fleet consisted of 100 ships of war; the Dutch fleet had more ships, though not so many three-deckers. The two fleets met at day-break; and the wind being at south-west, they *formed in two lines parallel to the south-south-east, and each extended in length about five leagues*, the English having the wind. The Duke of York, who commanded the English fleet, took his station in the centre of the line of battle, having assigned his van to Prince Robert, and his rear to the Earl of Sandwich. The Sieur Opdam, admiral of Holland, had also stationed himself in the centre of his fleet, opposite the Duke of York, and he had opposed Vice-Admiral Tromp to Prince Robert. The two fleets cannonaded each other from three o'clock in the morning till eleven, very sharply on both sides, without victory declaring itself for either party. The Dutch had captured an English ship, which, in a rash bravado, attempted to pass through their line; but, by bearing away every now and then to the south-east, they shewed that the fire of the English annoyed them. At eleven o'clock, the Duke of York ordered his whole line to bear down on the enemy, himself bearing down on Opdam. This action reanimated the ardour of the combatants. The dreadful noise of the cannon, the fragments of the ships, the falling of the masts, a dense smoke mixed with the blazes of fire which the ships sent forth as they blew up; these gave to the conflict all the horror that can be conceived. It is said, that the Admiral Opdam was nevertheless seated on the poop of his ship, from whence he beheld, with astonishing composure, the horrible disorder which the Duke of York's guns were causing in his ship. The great number of dead bodies which covered his decks, the lamentable cries of those who were wounded around him, the shower of balls which had destroyed a great portion of the sails and rigging; nothing prevented him from giving his orders, and encouraging his men, with words and with his own example. About two in the afternoon the Duke

of York made the signal to bear close into the enemy, and the Dutch began not to keep so close to the wind. Opdam alone, and the *Orange*, a three-decker, did not alter their course; but a moment after, Opdam having received, very near, a whole broadside from the Duke of York, his ship blew up; no one could tell by what accident, though five men of his crew were saved. The Dutch, who had already lost many ships, seeing their admiral's ship blown up, ran before the wind to escape into the Texel. The Duke of York pursued them, with incredible ardour, to the mouth of their port. He took or burnt twenty-two men-of-war, of which twenty carried from fifty to eighty guns; and he obtained over them the most glorious victory, and the most complete, that had ever been gained on the sea. It cost the English only one ship, and the loss of from 300 to 400 men."

Admiral Ekins, in his work on "Naval Battles," acutely inferred, from Hoste's description of the action, that it implied the operation of *cutting through the enemy's line;* and the first narrative, though unknown at the time to that gallant writer, proves the correctness of his inference. It is further placed beyond all controversy, by the author of a work published at Amsterdam only three years after the battle, (in 1668), in which he says, "The Earl of Sandwich "*separated the Dutch fleet in two,* about one o'clock "in the afternoon." "Le Comte de Sandwich "*sépara la flotte Hollandoise en deux,* vers l'1 heure "du midi."[1] The fact shews itself to be this: In the tack in which the Duke of York made the signal to bear down into the enemy's line, the blue or rear

[1] "Description exacte de tout ce qui s'est passé dans les guerres, &c." Amsterdam, 1668. 4to.

squadron, under the Earl of Sandwich, became the van, and led the English column; and coming up the first to the enemy, about one o'clock P.M., gallantly broke through his line, near the centre, where Opdam was stationed. The duke, in the *Charles*, who followed in the centre of his own column, came into action with that commander about two o'clock; from which time the remainder of the fleet "fell in pell-"mell" with the enemy's ships. This operation was correspondent to that described by Collingwood at Trafalgar, except that Lord Nelson had ably shortened time, and multiplied power, by forming a double column. "The action," he says, "began by the "leading ships of the columns breaking through the "enemies' line, the succeeding ships breaking through "in all parts, a-stern of their leaders, and engaging "the enemy at the muzzle of their guns."[1]

"Compared with this action," observes Admiral Ekins, "the battle of the 12th of April was but "children's play; and nothing in later times can be "thought to resemble it in its effects, but the battles "of Camperdown, of the Nile, of St. Domingo,[2] and "of Trafalgar. Let it be remembered, that the man "(Hoste) who has given us this description, lived in, "or near, the time in which the events he relates "took place; and, having himself been twelve years "at sea, in all expeditions under some of the most

[1] Collingwood's Correspondence, &c. p. 120.

[2] "Fought by my early and dear friend, the late Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K.B., whose name, together with that of our common friend, the late universally beloved Admiral Sir John Colpoys, K.B., I inscribe here, in testimony of my regard and affection for both their memories."

" celebrated French admirals, may be considered to " have known something of the subject of which he " treats." Without any invidious comparisons, it is sufficient for my record, that the battle of the 3d June, 1665, should be shewn, by a skilful admiral, to pertain to the first class of our naval glories. But, as that of the 12th of April, 1782, is here adverted to, I shall dwell a little on the controversy to which it has given rise.

When the art of manœuvring a fleet in line, or column, is once known and practised, it is a very short step for an observant and bold commander, who is resolved to be the aggressor, to determine to direct his line athwart that of his adversary, and to avail himself of the advantages, obvious to a sea-bred mind, which he foresees must result from the success of that operation; and, to inquire who first devised it, is much the same as to inquire, who first devised the notion of attacking an enemy to his manifest disadvantage. The measure must have been, originally, the momentary suggestion of fit circumstances presented to professional skill and valour united in the same person, antecedent to any reduction of the operation to didactic rules; or, as it were, the action of a naval instinct in such a mind. This was the case in the action of June 1665; and it was also the case in April 1782, when Sir Charles Douglas urged upon his brave commander's observation a moment for passing through the French line. It is manifest, that whatever difference of opinion might at that instant have existed between those two gallant officers, it

regarded only the season for executing the operation, and not the operation itself; the one feeling in himself a responsibility, which did not press with equal weight on the mind of the other. When, therefore, Sir Gilbert Blane called the operation "a manœuvre "hitherto unpractised in naval tactics," we perceive, both that he was in error, and also, the cause of that error. We perceive, that the manœuvre had been practised, with perfect success, above a century before, in the course of professional duty; but, without laying claim, or thinking that any ground of claim was thereby laid, to extraordinary notice or applause. "It is well known," said Lord Rodney, in his note printed in Clerk's third edition, "that attempting to "bring to action the enemy, ship to ship, is contrary "to common sense, and a proof that that admiral "is not an officer, whose duty it is to take every "advantage of an enemy, and to bring, if possible, "the whole fleet under his command to attack half "or part of the enemy, by which he will be sure of "defeating the enemy, and taking the part attacked; "and likewise defeating the other part by detail, "unless they make a timely retreat. During all the "commands Lord Rodney has been intrusted with, "he made it a rule to bring his whole force against "part of the enemy's, and never was so absurd as to "bring ship against ship, when the enemy gave him "an opportunity of acting otherwise."

Here Lord Rodney has placed the manœuvre upon its true ground; not on that of extraordinary and exclusive sagacity or genius, but of sound com-

mon sense acting in a mind moulded to practical seamanship; a manœuvre, following by necessary consequence in such a mind on the fit occasion, when possessing a formed column, together with a fearless spirit of assault. What has given so disproportioned a character of sagacity to this operation, has been the manner in which it was presented to the world by Clerk, who, professing himself to be no seaman, nor ever to have been at sea, but fond of scientifically contemplating naval evolutions in the abstract, was forcibly struck with the ingenuity and soundness of the idea which had suggested itself to his mind in his closet, and proclaimed it in a tone of exultation, from which he would have abstained had he been a seaman; a proceeding not uncommon with persons of ingenuity, who hit upon a point in a science foreign to their vocation, and who are seduced to think that they have struck out something quite new, because they are not aware that others have already thought of it.

As to that part of the controversy which regards the honour of having first conceived the idea; whether it originated amidst the thunder of ordnance, or in the silence of the cabinet; it is very evident from what has been shewn, that no such exclusive award can be adjudged to any one individual; but that, like many other ideas, it sprang up, in original, in many minds so circumstanced as to give it birth, for it is plainly the genuine offspring of circumstances, either experienced or supposed. That it was original in Clerk, is reasonably inferable, because he had no

example to guide or instruct him; but, that Sir Charles Douglas, or Lord Rodney, derived the idea from Clerk, cannot with any reason be insisted on, now that we have discovered that commanders, placed in similar circumstances with those distinguished officers, conceived and used the idea more than a century before Clerk appeared.[1] Let us be satisfied with the fact, that a measure first effected by professional skill, will bear the test of scientific scrutiny; and that, as Newton and Leibnitz may both have hit upon the *method of fluxions*, without the one being a debtor to the other, so, in the operation of cutting through the enemy's naval line of battle, the man of practice and the man of theory may each have been originators of that not very difficult conception; for, the difficulty does not lie in the conception, but in the execution. It would be as hard to believe, that Nelson formed his plan of attack at Trafalgar in consequence of Clerk's book, as that Napoleon formed his plan of attacking in column in consequence of the suggestions of the same writer.[2]

But, the light we have now acquired, will enable us to see somewhat more clearly into the naval operations of the former war, of 1652, 3. We now know,

[1] "The only wonder (says the Quarterly Reviewer, No. 83, p. 60) is, that "so simple an operation should not have been discovered, and practised gene- "rally, *a century before either Rodney or Clerk was born.* It is only acting by "sea what Buonaparte did by land, whenever he could put it in practice."

[2] Whilst preparing these pages for the printer, I was made acquainted with Admiral Sir C. H. Knowles's "*Observations on Naval Tactics, and on the* "*Claims of Mr. Clerk of Edinburgh*," &c., printed in 1830. To that tract I refer the reader; having no pretensions to treat the subject with the minuteness of professional science.

that in the actions of those years, the Dutch, and sometimes the English, fought *in line*. Sir Joseph Jordan's journal states, that on the 2d of June, 1653, the blue or rear-admiral's squadron first came into action, then the general's or red, and then the white or vice-admiral's.[1] This shews, that the fleet was regularly formed in line or column, and was then led by the rear or blue squadron. Ludlow says, "Lawson, who commanded the blue squadron, "charged through the Dutch fleet with 40 ships."[2] This account seems to describe a mode of proceeding similar to that of the 3d of June, 1665, when Sandwich, with the blue squadron in the van, divided the enemy's line in two. Again, in Monk's report of the action of the 31st of July, 1653, he says, "The *Reso-* "*lution*, with the *Worcester* frigate, *led the English* "*fleet* in a desperate and gallant charge through the "whole Dutch fleet;" and we know, that the fleet had been formed in line.[3] By referring to the list of the fleet, it will be seen, that the *Worcester*, Capt. Dakins, was next ship to the general's ship, the *Resolution*: this, therefore, implies, that the English line cut through that of the Dutch, in column, led by the general's division. Thus, then, so far from the English fleet engaging in line for the first time in June 1665, and for the first time breaking through the enemy's line in April 1782, it is evident; that the English fleet performed both these operations on the first of those dates, and very probably, twelve years before.

Basnage, a French Protestant clergyman of Rouen,

[1] Above, vol. i. p. 530. [2] Memoirs, p. 466. [3] Above, vol. i. p. 509, 10.

who took refuge in Holland on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and there wrote his voluminous "*Annales des Provinces Unies*" (published in 1726, sixty years after the action), to favour his patron nation, says: "Never was a naval battle more ill "managed than this; for the duke might easily have "separated one part of the fleet from the other, and "beaten it separately:"—"jamais bataille navale ne "fut plus mal ordonnée que celle-ci; car le duc "pouvait aisément *séparer une partie de la flotte de* "*l'autre, et la battre séparément.*"[1] Ignorant, or perverse, as this observation is, it is still a further proof, that the idea of dividing an enemy's line, in order to encounter it partially and successively, does not owe its origin to Clerk, but was familiar to the times in which we are engaged.

Bishop Parker, in the *History of his own Times*, dutifully remarks on this great victory: "The Duke "of York, though he was *the most consummate general* "*at that time by land*,[2] had scarce ever seen a sea-"engagement before. Yet, with how great a destruc-"tion of men and ships did *this young seaman* over-"throw the old admiral!"[3] The duke, indeed, possessed, and displayed on this, as on all other occasions, a personal valour fully equal to that of any officer in the fleet; but the naval experience and skill requisite for directing and conducting such a combat, the success of which depended primarily on *seamanship*, he most certainly did not, and could not

[1] Tom. i. p. 741.—See also the Duke of York's 3d Instruction.

[2] Turenne, Condé, and Montecuculi, were then in the zenith of their renown.

[3] Page 60.

possess. The authors of the *Modern Universal History* will, perhaps, be thought to supply a satisfactory comment on that right reverend historian's remark: "In 1665 (say they) Sir William Penn was appointed "to command the English fleet under the Duke of "York; and it was universally thought, that the "laurels which his royal highness acquired in fighting against the Dutch, were chiefly owing to the "great abilities of Sir William Penn as a seaman."[1] That this opinion was not in discordance with that of the higher parties concerned, is inferable from the fact, that "the memory and merits of Sir William "Penn in divers services, and particularly his conduct, courage, and discretion under our dearest "brother, James, duke of York, in that signal battle "and victory fought and obtained against the Dutch "fleet commanded by the Heer Van Opdam in 1665," is expressly set forth by Charles II. in his royal charter, as the governing motive that influenced him afterwards, in 1680, to confer on the son that large tract of American wilderness, before called *Nova Suabia*;[2] which, without any pecuniary aid from the government, but by the application of his own patrimony, he converted into the flourishing province (now state) designed by himself to be called *Sylvania*, but which Charles insisted should be called *Pennsylvania*.[3]

[1] Vol. xv. p. 111, fol.

[2] Smith's Map of Virginia, 1606; republished, by John Senex, in 1735.—*Suabia*, i. e. *Suevia*, (*Sweden*): see Brotier's note (') to Tacitus' *Germania*, cap. 41: "hucque nomen *Suevorum* intulere, unde regionem hanc adhuc dici-"mus *Suabia*:" the *b* and *v* being convertible letters in many dialects.

[3] "*February*, 1680.—PENN *Grant*.—His majesty is pleased to grant to "William Penn, Esq., his heirs and assigns for ever, a certain tract of land in

In addition to which province, the Duke of York surrendered his title to the adjoining territory now forming the state of Delawarre, "out of a special "regard to the memory, and many faithful and "eminent services heretofore performed by the said "Sir William Penn, to his said majesty and royal "highness;" as it is expressed in his royal highness's release of the same to William Penn the son, dated 21st August, 1682.

Immediately after the action, on the Duke of York's return to London, the fleet came into the river to be repaired for the sequel of the summer's expedition.

"10*th*.—Letters of yesterday morning from on board the *R. Charles* at the buoy of the Nore tell us, that our generals remain there on board, using all diligence possible to repair the fleet, which will in a few days be in a condition to take the sea again; scarce any of the ships, how sharp soever the late engagement was upon them, needing to put into dock. Their number there is 67, at Harwich 23, and in the river 9; all which, with those now coming from the westward, a few days will see joined in a body, in order to a future design."

"24*th*, *Whitehall*.—On Thursday last his majesty conferred the honour of knighthood upon Vice-Admiral Christopher Mings and Captain Jeremiah Smith, in consideration of their eminent services, particularly in the late battle. In

"America, to be erected into a province, and to be called by the name of *Penn-*
"*sylvania*; and also to make the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns,
"chief governors thereof, with divers privileges, powers, and authorities granted
"to the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, in order to the good govern-
"ment of the said province."

"Nulla est res in quâ propius ad Deorum numen virtus accedat humana,
"quam civitates aut *condere novas*, aut conservare jam conditas."—CICERO, *de Repub.* lib. i. cap. 7.

the glory of which day, as divers other brave officers bore their part, so likewise will they undoubtedly receive their rewards, in the comfort and blessing of his sacred majesty's grace and favour."

"*July 6th.*—Sir W. Penn, it seems," says Pepys, "sailed last night from Sole-bay (in the *R. James*[1]) "with about sixty sail of ships, and my Lord Sandwich in the *Prince*,[2] and some others, it seems, "going after them to overtake them."

"Upon Thursday last, in the evening, his majesty, with H. R. H., Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, and others of the nobility, arrived in the *Catherine* yacht at the buoy of the Nore, together with her majesty the queen mother, who thence prosecuted her journey towards France; his majesty taking his leave that night, and afterwards going aboard the *R. Charles*, where he bestowed the honour of knighthood upon divers officers that behaved themselves valiantly in the late fight against the Dutch: as, Rear-Admiral Tiddiman, Capt. Cuttance, Capt. Jordan, and Capt. Spragge. After which, his majesty visited most of the flag-ships, giving all necessary directions for the despatch of the fleet; which were so effectually observed, that eight or nine sailed away yesterday for Southold-bay, seven or eight more being ready to follow. Last night, about eight in the evening, his majesty came aboard his yacht, and so set sail up the river, coming within that tide a mile from Erith; from whence this morning tide brought him to Greenwich, and from thence his majesty passed by coach to Hampton Court."

"*Intelligencer, July 8th.*—We have advice from sea, that about sixty of his majesty's ships set sail upon the 5th

[1] "*R. James* (*Richard*). Built at Woolwich, 1658. Length of keel, 124 ft.; breadth by beam, 41 ft.; depth of hold, 18 ft.; depth of water, 20 ft.; tons, 1103. War, men 500; guns 80. Burnt by the Dutch at Chatham, 13th June, 1667."—(*Reg. of R. Navy*, Pepys' MSS. Bodl.)

[2] Vol. i. p. 492, *note*.

instant, from Sole-bay (as supposed, towards the coast of Holland), and that divers others were steering after them. The standard is borne by the right honourable the Earl of Sandwich; Sir George Ascue, vice-admiral, and his rear-admiral is Sir Thomas Tiddiman. Sir William Penn goes admiral of the white, and his vice and rear-admirals are Sir William Berkeley and Sir Joseph Jordan. The blue flag is carried by Sir Thomas Allen, and his flag-officers are Sir Christopher Mings and Captain Harman. All of whom, from first to last, being persons so well known to the Dutch upon frequent and sensible experience, and to the English upon account of the noble services they have rendered this nation, that the bare mention of their name suffices, without the gloss of any further character."

Sandwich had been appointed lieutenant-admiral to his royal highness the lord high admiral, and captain-general of the narrow seas, which gave him the rank of vice-admiral of England. In this expedition he sailed as admiral of England, and Sir William Penn as vice-admiral. The latter, as we have seen, had been his senior general at sea; but the king, on his restoration, found it necessary to raise his nobility and their families from their long depression; and Penn, who was only desirous to serve the crown and the country with consistency, cheerfully accepted a command subordinate to that of a junior, but ennobled officer: a conduct, which raised him the higher in his royal master's regard. The Earl of Sandwich, having received advice that a rich Dutch fleet of about seventy sail (among which were their Turkey and East India ships), had come north about, and had taken shelter at Berghen, in Norway, de-

tached his rear-admiral, Sir T. Tiddiman, in the month of August, with twelve or fourteen men-of-war and three fire-ships, to attack them; but the attempt, though gallantly executed, proved unsuccessful. The whole Dutch fleet was in consequence sent to Berghen, from the ports of Holland, to bring off and escort that fleet which had been secured within the harbour; but a violent storm dispersed them at sea on their return, and many were captured by the English. The following is Sandwich's report to Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

"*To the Duke of Albemarle.*

"On board the *Prince*,
thirty leagues N.N.W. from the Texel,
September 5th, 1665.

"May it please your Grace,

"Since I put last to sea, on Thursday last, we had a storm of wind at N.W., which, God be thanked, did us no other damage than spoiling the masts of the *Diamond* (sent in to Harwich), and forty barrels of the *Sovereign's* powder. Separated very few of us; though this same, upon the coast of Norway, much dispersed the Dutch, some of which were light upon on the 3d of September. Took two of their East Indiamen, a Straits-man, a Malaga-man, and four men-of-war; three of them of 50 guns, and one of 40 guns, and some other small vessels. I have intelligence the greatest part of their fleet is about the Walbank, whither I am now plying, and hope to see them shortly. I thought it requisite to send a vessel to inform the king and duke thus much of us, and your grace; no person in the world being a truer and thankfuller servant of your grace's than, &c. &c.

"SANDWICH.

"The *Hector* is unfortunately sunk, and the captain and most of her men drowned; only twenty-five saved. The captain carried himself exceeding well; helped to take the vice-admiral of the East Indies, and only put some men on board her, and went on to engage the men-of-war. Captain Con (captain of the *Mary*) is hurt ill in the foot with a great shot."

"*Prizes taken on the 3d and 4th of September.*

Four Men-of-War, viz.

Surprisers.		Men.	Guns.
Assurance ...	*West Frezeland*, Capt. Peter Clawson ...	220	50
Antelope	*The Seven Oakes*	250	54
Adventure ...	A man-of-war of	220	50
Mary	A man-of-war of	190	40
		880	

Three East Indiamen, and Seven other Merchants.

Adventure ... *Hector*	*The Phœnix*, an East India merchant, being the vice-adm.; burthen, ...	150
Plymouth .... *Mitford*	*The Slothany*, another East India merchant, being the rear-adm.; burthen,	150
Ruby	Another Straits merchant, so engaged that they set her on fire.	
Adventure ...	A merchantman from Lisbon	40
Guinea	A merchantman from the Straits	40
Mars	A merchantman from Malaga	24
Dover	*The William and Mary* of Rotterdam: in her 150 barrels of powder, shot, paper, &c. for De Ruyter	15
	Fountain of Schedam, a busse, laden with clawboards, bound for Malaga	8
Colchester ...	A small vessel	12
Pembroke	A vessel laden with clawboards, bound for Bordeaux	8
		447
		880
		1327"

In the ill-advised attack at Berghen, were slain Captain Seale, who had succeeded Captain Kirby in

the *Breda;* Captain Utber, junior, of the *Guernsey;* Captain Hayward, of the *Prudent Mary;* Captain Lawson, of the *Coast* frigate; Captain Cadman, of the *Hamburgh* merchant; and Captain Pierce of the *Briar.* In the attack of the Dutch East-India fleet in September there fell, Captain Langhern, slain in the *Revenge;* Captain Lambert, in the *Ann;* and Captain Cuttle, sunk with his ship, the *Hector.*

On the 12th of September, the fleet returned to England with the prizes; and on the 14th of October, Sandwich addressed the following letter to Pepys, a document to which we shall have occasion to revert hereafter.

"MR. PEPYS, October 14th, 1665.

"Your letter of so late a date as the 12th instant, makes me somewhat wonder, that before that time order was not given to clear all that was disposed by my direction. The king hath confirmed it, and given me order to distribute these very proportions to the flag-officers, so that you are to own the possession of them with confidence; and, if any body have taken security from them upon seizure, remand the security in my name, and return their answer. Carry it high; and own nothing of baseness or dishonour, but rather intimate, that I shall know who have done me indignities. Thank my Lord Brouncker and Sir John Minnes for civilities, and tell them I expect no less in reality, for I have befriended them; and, that I shall very ungratefully hear of news of base examinations, upon any action of mine. What is more to be said in this matter, is better reserved for a fit occasion.

"I am,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"SANDWICH."

In consequence of the transaction to which the preceding letter of Sandwich refers, (and which will be thoroughly exposed in the next chapter), the king removed him from the command of the fleet; but immediately appointed him ambassador to the court of Spain, in supercession of Sir Richard Fanshaw, whose long and faithful services were sacrificed to diplomatic convenience and intrigue.

31*st.*—The king came to the house of peers to pass the several bills, and to make a prorogation; at which time, the commons being sent for, their speaker, Sir Edward Turner, in presenting the bills, delivered himself thus:

"May it please your excellent Majesty,

"The knights, citizens, and burgesses of the commons house of parliament, in obedience to your majesty's writ of adjournment, came cheerfully to this city of Oxford, to receive your royal commands. And when your majesty was pleased to acquaint them with your great expenses this summer, and the continuing insolencies of the Dutch, they were so inflamed with an affection and zeal for your majesty's service, that they could not suffer the least juncto of time to pass before they had made a return suitable to their engagements, that they would assist your majesty with their lives and fortunes against the Dutch, or any other that should assist them in opposition to your majesty. The English man useth to speak as he writes, and the English parliament to speak as they think. No security upon the earth can be greater than the engagement of your two houses of parliament. *Sed quid Verba audiam, dum Facta videam!* As a demonstration of their fidelity, I am ommanded to present unto your majesty this bill, whereby they have given your

majesty twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to be levied in two years, beginning from Christmas next, by quarterly payments added to the former royal aid: and, that your majesty's occasions may be supplied with ready money, before the additional aid can be raised, we have, by the bill, prepared an undoubted security for all such persons as shall bring their moneys into the public bank of the exchequer. As the rivers do naturally empty themselves into the sea, so we hope the veins of gold and silver in this nation will plentifully run into this ocean for the maintenance of your majesty's just sovereignty on the seas.

"Great Sir, when first we besought your majesty to correct the insolencies, and to repair your subjects against the rapines of the Dutch, we did reasonably suppose, that the justice of your majesty's demands would at least have had a fair and ingenuous reception; but the Dutch resolved, with Machiavel, to keep by force what they had got by fraud, and to return their answer by the thundering noise of their cannon. The great God of Hosts, to whom vengeance belongeth, hath eminently appeared in your majesty's quarrel, and sharply rebuked the insolence of that proud people. It is true, our sins do cry aloud, as well as theirs; but God is pleased, in mercy, to correct us himself;[1] while, by our hands, he punishes them, and makes them fly before us. I hope his mercy will invite us to a national repentance, and 'if He be 'with us, who can be against us?'"

"It remained," says Clarendon, "to settle the "command of the fleet for the ensuing year; and "there can be little doubt made, but that the king "and the duke had resolved this, at the same time "that they determined that the Earl of Sandwich

[1] Alluding to the dreadful scourge of the plague then raging.

" should not continue in it: however, it was commu-
" nicated to nobody till the designation of the other
" was published. Then the king told the chancellor,
" that he had long considered that affair; and could
" not think of any expedient so good for the perform-
" ance of that service, as a conjunction between Prince
" Rupert and the general (Monk), and making them
" joint commanders-in-chief of the fleet for the next
" expedition. There had many exceptions occurred
" to them, against committing the charge to either of
" them singly; nor were they without apprehension
" of some which might fall out, by joining them to-
" gether." When this arrangement had been imparted by the chancellor to Monk, and the service accepted by him, " he said, smilingly, that it would be neces-
" sary that what concerned him should still remain a
" secret, and Prince Rupert be understood to have
" that command alone; for, if his wife should come
" to know it, before he had by degrees prepared her
" for it, she would break out into such passions as
" would be very uneasy to him. The people be-
" lieved that they could not but have the victory
" where the general commanded, who only under-
" went unquietness and vexation from the tempes-
" tuous humour of his wife. She, from his return to
" Oxford, and from the time that she had the first
" intimation that the king had designed her husband
" for the command of the fleet, was all storm and
" fury; and, according to the wisdom and modesty
" of her nature, poured out a thousand foul-mouthed
" curses against all those who had contributed to

" that counsel. But, the company she kept, and the " conversation she was accustomed to, could not " propagate the reproaches far; and the poor general " himself felt them most. For these domestic humi- " liations, he revenged himself on others.—He was," observes the same writer, " as impatient upon the " sight of an enemy to engage with him, as Prince " Rupert himself, and had a natural contempt of the " Dutch; and truly, in all consultations with his flag- " officers, whoever proposed any wary advice, ran " great hazard of being reputed a coward." He held in supreme contempt the recent improvement in naval operations, by which a fleet was brought to act together as one body; and, with the most obstinate pertinacity, adhered to the promiscuous fighting of a former age.

The fleet being thus irrevocably condemned, for the ensuing campaign, to the chief command of those two discordant and mutually jealous land-admirals; of whose fundamental defect of naval skill, their reckless imprudence, and also their personal hostility towards himself, Sir W. Penn had certain assurance, he was extremely averse to hazard his long and well-established professional reputation, by acting under them; and the king and duke, candidly sensible of the validity of his objection, were graciously pleased to dispense[1] with his serving in the expedition then preparing.

" *November 6th.*—Sir G. Carteret and I," says Pepys, " did walk an hour in the garden before the

[1] See, afterwards, his letter to the Duke of York, in 1668.

" house. He says, Sir William Penn is the falsest " rascal that ever was in the world; and, that this " afternoon the Duke of Albemarle did tell him, that " Penn was a very cowardly rogue,[1] and one that had " brought all these roguish fanatic captains[2] into the " fleet; and swears he should never go out with the " fleet again." Monk's new policy, as head of the cavaliers, and his imperious nature, had now rendered him the friend of high prelacy and high prerogative.

" *December 8th.*—To my Lord (Duke) of Albe- " marle," says Evelyn, " who was declared *General* " *at Sea,* to the no small mortification of that excel- " lent person, the Earl of Sandwich, whom the duke " suspected less valiant; himself imagining how easy " a thing it were to confound the Hollanders, as well " now, as heretofore he fought against them upon a " more disloyal interest." If Sandwich's mortification proceeded from his not receiving a similar commission, he was very unreasonable; for he must have been sensible, that the king could not have made him a sea-general without making Penn, who was his senior, a sea-general also, especially as his majesty knew, that the latter was working for his restoration, at the very time the former was urging Cromwell to declare himself king. But, his majesty had no desire

[1] Such was not his opinion after the great conflict of June 1653, when he himself proposed to Cromwell and the commissioners of the admiralty, that Penn should be added to the generals of the fleet; and it was, now, only the low and scurrilous expression of his resentment of Sir W. Penn's declining to serve under him. But Penn knew that, in 1653, Monk felt himself under some superior control, but that he now knew and felt himself to be superior to all control whatever.

[2] See above, p. 295.

to continue the designation; although Monk's overwhelming influence extorted it from him, for himself.

"*9th.*—My Lord Brouncker and I," says Pepys, "dined with the Duke of Albemarle. At table, the "duchess, a very ill-looked woman, complaining of "her lord's going to sea the next year, said these "cursed words: 'If my lord had been a coward, he 'had gone to sea no more; it may be then he 'might have been excused, and made an ambas-'sador,' (meaning my Lord Sandwich). This made "me mad; and I believe she perceived my counte-"nance change, and blushed herself very much. I "was in hopes others had not minded it; but my "Lord Brouncker, after we were come away, took "notice of the words to me, with displeasure." The term *coward*, she had adopted from her husband, who had it ever ready on his tongue, to fling at all sea-commanders who censured his unskilful and mischievous hardihood with a fleet. Whitelock observes of Monk, on his arrival in London from Scotland with his army, in 1659-60:—"The French ambas-"sador visited General Monk, whom he found no "accomplished courtier or statesman." In fact, he was a man rude and coarse by nature; his extraordinary exaltation had rendered him imperious, insolent, and vindictive; and the naval success and honour of this year, had roused both his jealousy and his ambition to their utmost height.

Noble, in his "Protectoral House of Cromwell," gives the following account of Monk and of his duchess:

"George Monk was a gentleman by birth, having "descended of a very ancient and respectable family "in Devonshire; he was related to the blood-royal "by his great grandmother, daughter of Arthur "Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle. He was at first a "royalist, but happening to become a prisoner to "the parliamentarians, they, by severity, converted "him to their sentiments: he was an able officer, "and as such rose in their army. The older Pro- "tector (Oliver) trusted him much, though he sus- "pected him of being inclined to the interest of "Charles Stuart; but he was a good subject to both "Oliver and Richard. After the ruin of the latter, "he was at a loss which side to declare for, and had "thoughts of seating himself in the Protectorship, as "France offered to support him; but he was ordered "to espouse the royal interest by his wife,[1] who had "been his mistress, (and is said to have been the "daughter of a blacksmith), to whom he bore an "implicit obedience: therefore, he was the main "instrument in seating Charles upon the throne of "his ancestors. He was rewarded with the title of "Duke of Albemarle, honoured with the garter, and "as many other titles and places as he would accept. "The dukedom became extinct in his son. He him- "self died Jan. 4, 1669-70, and was buried in West- "minster Abbey, at the public expense, and almost "in regal style. His duchess died in Jan. 23, a few "days after him. She retained that vulgarity when

[1] Heath calls her, "The Minerva and great patroness of this grand design," p. 436.

" duchess, which she had early imbibed. She was a " most turbulent woman; and Monk was more fear- " ful of her than (of) an army. It is said, she even " would give him manual correction. The duke was " awkward and stupid in a drawing-room, and re- " spectable only in a camp. To cover the meanness " of his wife, Sir Thomas Clarges, her father,[1] was " knighted; his son, Sir William Clarges, was " created a baronet."[2]

[1] There must be an error here. Heath, a contemporary writer, says, " Doctor Clargys, (now Sir Thomas), the general's brother," (p. 446); and the annotator to Grey's *Debates* describes Sir Thomas Clarges as brother of the Duchess of Albemarle.

[2] Vol. i. p. 389, and note.

CHAPTER VIII.

1666—1670.

Admiralty, and Sequel to his Death.

1666.

On landing from the *Charles*, Sir W. Penn took his final leave of active service at sea. His former long and harassing services, together with increasing gout, to which he was subject, had made great inroads into the foundations of his health, and he thenceforth confined himself to his official duties on shore, and to his attendance in parliament. He had established his family at Chigwell, in Essex, during all his former absences abroad; he now removed them to Wanstead, but with the design of finally fixing them on his estates in Ireland.

On this occasion he received the following letter from a relation, Mr. John Georges (member for Cirencester, in the parliament then sitting at Oxford on account of the prevalence of the plague in London), strongly urging him to redeem the alienated possession of his ancestors in Wiltshire, and to establish himself and his family in their ancient seat.

" *To his most worthily honoured Friend and loving Cousin, Sir William Penn, one of the Commissioners for his Majesty's Royal Navy, present these.*

" Worthily honoured Sir, and my very good Cousin,

" I am very heartily glad I have learned (by a letter from this bearer, my old servant) of yours, your worthy lady's good health, and welfare of all yours, to whom I sincerely wish all true happiness and prosperity; but, indeed, I am sorry that you were disappointed that she brought you only a verbal message, and not a letter from me, which truly was her mere mistake; for I chiefly directed her to inquire if you were at the house, or where. For that, at our Oxford meeting, Sir William Batten told me, he left you taking physic at Chatham.

" I am not ignorant, sir, of the respects and honour so worthily due to you for your many singular merits and deservings (which, of all others, is the best title to that), and whereby God hath raised you to be the top of your kindred; and do not doubt but you will daily improve it to the glory of God, the honour of king and country, and your own family, and the joy and comfort of your kinsfolk and near allies, in which account I may justly claim my share and interest in you. And, to the end you and yours may be truly informed, and remember for the future, before the efflux of time may put it out of your memory, how I make my title to it, you may please to know, that your grandfather, William Penn (whose name you bear), was by your great-grandfather (of the same name also) placed with my great-uncle, Christopher Georges, then a counsellor at law, and justice of the peace, and quorum of this county, to be bred up by him, and with whom he lived many years as his chief clerk, till he married him to one of his sister Ann Georges' daughters, by Mr. John Rastall, then one of the aldermen of Gloucester (another of

their daughters being before married to our cousin, Richard Harmar's father. By which pedigree it may appear to you, that your father and myself were cousin-germans but once removed. And to know it, I presume, it will not be troublesome to you, since I hope your relation to me and my ancestors, the Georges, shall never bring disparagement upon you, or yours; but may much abate the sense of my boldness in the several addresses I have made to you, as now again I do, in the behalf of this my old servant's son, John Porter, that you will please to send me, under her cover, two or three lines to Sir William Coventry, for the procuring him a gunner's place in the new frigate now building at Blackwall; for whose loyalty to his majesty, and fidelity in his service, I will be bound, if accepted; wherefore I pray, sir, let her have your letter to send to me, and in it one to Sir William Coventry, which I shall (God willing) myself deliver to him.

" And now give me leave, for yourself, to revive a former motion to you: that, since God hath been pleased to bless you with so great abilities, out of a due love to your native country, you would redeem into your name and family the lands in Myntie[1] which were your ancestors', the Penns, for many generations, worth about 100*l.* per ann., with a genteel ancient house upon it. I have heretofore made an overture of this my desire to Mr. Nicholas Pleydall, the present owner of it, and never found him averse to part with it; besides, I doubt not, but in a short time to procure you the purchase of 200*l.* per ann., and more, in the same parish,

[1] " Minchy, now Minety, was always accounted a member of the manor of " Cirencester, and gave the name to the hundred of Minety, now united to the " hundred of Crowthorn; it anciently was within the hundred of Cirencester. " The parish church, the parsonage, the vicarage-house, and a small hamlet " called Wiltshire-row, lie in the hundred of Malmsbury, in Wiltshire; the " rest, and far the greater part of the parish, lies in the hundred of Crowthorn " and Minety."—ATKYNS's Glocest. pp. 346 and 558.

within view of the other; and much more may be had, not far from that. And, therefore, I earnestly desire, that this my motion may be acceptable to you; the rather, for that I conceive it high time for you to begin a plantation for your posterity, which you cannot do upon a more honourable foundation than that which, for so many generations, hath been the inheritance of the Penns, your ancestors. Wherefore, dear sir, I pray, duly consider of my proposal, and speedily send me your resolution in it.

"And now I must crave leave to entreat you to communicate to me the state of foreign affairs (as they now stand) between us, the French, and Dutch; and since, you are so much concerned in the management of our sea forces, I heartily wish, that against the next sitting of the parliament, a good account may be prepared of all our naval expenses, and also of the proceeds of all the prizes which have been taken; for it is generally bruited in these parts, that at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and other ports, they were very shamefully shared and embezzled, (*illegible*). I heard it spoken, (at the speaker's table in Oxford), that it had been more for his majesty's honour, and advantage of the nation, if the two East India ships (taken from the Dutch last summer) had been sunk into the bottom of the sea, than taken.

"And now, begging your pardon for giving you such great and unexpected trouble, with my best devotion I recommend you, your worthy lady, and all yours (my young cousins), and all your family, to God's most blessed love; and shall ever remain,

"Dear sir,

"Your most affectionate kinsman and faithful servant,

"Bawnton, near Cicester, January 27th, 1665-6." "JOHN GEORGES."[1]

[1] "John George, or Georges, of Bawnton, co. Glouc. Esq. (writer of the "letter to Sir Wm Penn), was a barrister-at-law, M.P. for Cirencester, and

The latter part of the preceding letter refers to the recent junction of France with Holland in the war; and, to a transaction which will engage our attention in the year 1668.

The number and virulence of parties, at this time, rendered society difficult and odious. 1st, The hatred of the cavaliers towards all those that had engaged themselves for king and parliament; 2d, The jealousy of the land-admirals towards the sea-admirals, especially of Rupert, Monk, and Mountagu, towards Penn; 3d, That which existed between the land-admirals themselves; besides many subdivisions too contemptible to trace out. Of these, Pepys, who was now become deeply imbued with the contagion, affords many examples, both in himself and in others. "Lord!" says he, 28th January of this year, "to see "in what difficulty I stand; that I dare not walk "with Sir W. Coventry, for fear my Lord (Sandwich) "and Sir G. Carteret should see me; nor with either

"dep^y lieut. of that county. He died in Dec. 1677, æt. 85, leaving Eliz., his "only child and heir, married to Richd Whitmore, of Lower Slaughters in "co. Glouc. Esqr ancestor by a 2^d wife (for Eliz. died issueless) of the late "Sr Tho. Whitmore, K.B., and of the present M.P. for Bridgnorth. J. George "was the son of Robt George of Bawnton, Esqr the son of John G. of the same "place, who was brother to Chr^r G., the counsellor at law ment^d in the s^d letter. "This family had been lords of the manor of Bawnton from the beginning of "Edwd 2^d, William George having then acquired it by his intermarriage with "Catherine, the dau^r and co-heir of Robt de Pennington."

The above is an extract from a letter of my friend, George F. Beltz, Esq., *Lancaster Herald*, dated, College of Arms, 8th Nov. 1803. Mr. Georges' letter is introduced into these Memorials in replication to Lord Clarendon's gratuitous assertion, hazarded by him under the irritation of his last exile, "that Sir W. "Penn had, from a *common man*, grown up under Cromwell to the highest command." (Continuation, vol. ii. p. 328. 8vo. Oxon.)

" of these, for fear Sir W. Coventry should!" A more abject sense of position, cannot well be conveyed.

In the midst of these jarring discords, Sir W. Penn wrote thus to his son:

" Son William,

" I have yours of the 26th ultimo, and am glad you are well returned to Dublin. I wish you (may) find that agreement with W. prove according to your relation, and so I shall be satisfied; my frame of mind being, for '*peace with all men, so far as in me lieth.*' The Earl of Ossory[1] left London this day, bound for Dublin; he hath received commands from his majesty and his royal highness to favour your business all he can: and such was his goodness, that he offered me no less, without asking. So that if you foresee any difficulty, it is advisable you stop until his arrival, and then fail not to apply yourself unto him, whom, I have cause to judge a very generous, worthy, noble person. I have no news for you. The Lord keep you unblameable, and return you with comfort to me,

" Your very affectionate father,

" February 2d, (66.) " W. Penn."

" *March 7th.*—Up betimes," says Pepys, " and " to St. James's, thinking Mr. Coventry had lain " there; but he do not, but at Whitehall; so thither " I went to him. We walked an hour in the matted " gallery: he of himself began to discourse of the " unhappy difference between him and my Lord of " Sandwich; and from the beginning to the end did " run through all passages wherein my lord hath, at " any time, gathered dissatisfaction, and cleared him-

[1] The eldest son of the Duke of Ormonde.

" self to me most honourably; and in truth I do " believe he do as he says. I did afterwards purge " myself of all partiality in the business of Sir G. " Carteret, (whose story Sir W. Coventry did also " run over); that I do mind the king's business not- " withstanding my relation to him; all which he " declares he firmly believes, and assures me he hath " the same kindness and opinion of me as ever. And " when I said I was jealous of myself, that having " now come to such an income by his favour, I " should not be found to do as much service as might " deserve it; he did assure me he thinks it not too " much for me, but thinks I deserve it as much as " any man in England. All this discourse did cheer " my heart, and sets me right again, after a good " deal of melancholy, out of fears of his disinclination " to me, upon the difference with my Lord Sandwich " and Sir G. Carteret; but I am satisfied thoroughly, " and so went away quite another man; and, by the " grace of God, will never lose it again by my folly " in not visiting and writing to him, as I used hereto- " fore to do."

" *9th.*—Made a visit to the Duke of Albemarle, " and to my great joy find him the same man to me " that heretofore, which I was in great doubt of, " through my negligence in not visiting of him a " great while; and having now set all to rights there, " I shall never suffer matters to run so far backwards " again as I have done of late, with reference to my " neglecting him and Sir W. Coventry. The truth " is, I do indulge myself a little the more in pleasure,

" knowing that this is the proper age of my life to " do it: and out of my observation, that most men " that do thrive in the world, do forget to take plea- " sure during the time that they are getting their " estate, but reserve that till they have got one, and " then it is too late for them to enjoy it."

" 28*th.*—To the cock-pit; and dined with a great " deal of company at the Duke of Albemarle's, and " a bad and dirty, nasty dinner."

" *April* 18*th.*—To Mr. Lilly's, the painter's," says Pepys; " and there saw the heads, some " finished, and all begun, of the flag-men in the late " great fight with the Duke of York against the " Dutch. The Duke of York hath them done to " hang in his chamber, and very finely they are done " indeed. Here are,

THE PRINCE'S (RUPERT),
SIR G. ASKUE'S,
SIR THOMAS TIDDIMAN'S,
SIR CHRISTOPHER MINGS',
SIR JOSEPH JORDAN'S,
SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY'S,
SIR THOMAS ALLEN'S, and
CAPTAIN HARMAN'S; as also the
DUKE OF ALBEMARLE'S; and will be, my
LORD SANDWICH'S,
SIR WILLIAM PENN'S,[1] and
SIR JEREMY SMITH'S."

The Duke of Albemarle was not in that fight, having been left at home, in charge of the admiralty,

[1] It is from this picture, now in the Royal Naval Gallery at Greenwich Hospital, that the frontispiece of this work is taken.

during the absence of his royal highness, the Lord Admiral; but he was now about to proceed to the *Royal Charles,* in the Downs, in order to assume, in that triumphant vessel, the command of the fleet appointed for the present year; to demonstrate to the country, the great inferiority of the Dutch at sea; and, to prove to the English seamen, how far he was their superior in their own peculiar art.

"*May* 23*d.*—To Whitehall," says Pepys; "where "I had the opportunity to take leave of the Prince "(Rupert), and again of the Duke of Albemarle; "and saw them kiss the king's hand and the duke's; "and much content indeed there seems to be in all "people at their going to sea, and they promise "themselves much good by them."

"31*st.*—A public fast day appointed, to pray for "the good success of the fleet. By late tidings of the "French fleet being come to Rochelle, (how true, "though, I know not), our fleet is divided; Prince "Rupert being gone, with about thirty ships, to the "westward, as is conceived, to meet the French, to "hinder their coming to join with the Dutch. My "Lord Duke of Albemarle lies in the Downs with the "rest, and intends presently to sail to the Gunfleet."

"*June* 2*d.*—Up, and to the office, where certain "news is brought us of a letter come to the king "this morning from the Duke of Albemarle, (dated "yesterday at eleven o'clock, as they were sailing to "the Gunfleet), that they were in sight of the Dutch "fleet, and were fitting themselves to fight them; "so that they are ere this certainly engaged: be-

" sides, several do aver they heard the guns yester-
" day in the afternoon. This put us at the Board
" into a *tosse*. Presently come orders, for our sending
" away to the fleet a recruit of 200 soldiers. So I
" rose from the table, and to the victualling office,
" and thence upon the river among several vessels,
" to consider of the sending them away; and, lastly,
" down to Greenwich, and there appointed two
" yachts to be ready for them; and did order the
" soldiers to march to Blackwall. Having set all
" things in order against the next flood, I went on
" shore with Capt. Erwin to Greenwich, and into the
" park, and there we could hear the guns from the
" fleet most plainly. We walked to the water-side,
" and there seeing the king and duke come down in
" their barge to Greenwich-house, I to them, and
" did give them an account what I was doing. They
" went up to the park to hear the guns of the fleet
" go off. All our hopes now are that Prince Rupert,
" with his fleet, is coming back, and will be with the
" fleet this even, a message being sent to him for
" that purpose on Wednesday last; and a return is
" come from him this morning, that he did intend to
" sail from St. Ellen's Point about four in the after-
" noon yesterday; which gives us great hopes, the
" wind being very fair, that he is with them this
" even; and the fresh going off of the guns makes
" us believe the same."

" 4*th*.—I saw a letter from Strowd, governor of
" Dover Castle, which says, that the prince came
" thither the night before with his fleet; but that,

" for the guns which we wrote that we heard, it is " only a mistake for thunder; and so far as to " yesterday, it is a miraculous thing that we, all " Friday, and Saturday, and yesterday, did hear " every where most plainly the guns go off; and yet " at Deal, and Dover, to last night, they did not " hear one word of a fight, nor think they heard one " gun. This makes room for a great dispute in " philosophy, how we should hear it, and they not, " the same wind that brought it to us, being the same " that should bring it to them; but so it is. After " waiting upon the duke with Sir W. Penn, (who " was commanded to go to-night by water down to " Harwich, to dispatch away all the ships we can), " I home."

Sir William Coventry to Sir William Penn.

" Sir, June 4th, (66).

" H. R. H., upon the present uncertainty of the issue of the battle, judgeth it necessary that you should hasten down to the Gunfleet, there to give orders according to your best judgment for the king's service, whether for sending out any ships, or for sending up maimed ships to be repaired; as also, for transferring men from ship to ship; in all which, all commanders of his majesty's ships are to observe your orders.

" H. R. H. doth expressly require of you, that you hasten down all ships in the river which are capable of sailing down; and that, if the *Sovereign* be not already gone, you send her express orders to sail. Such as want men, you must supply from any maimed ships which come in, leaving them enough to sail thence in safety. If you meet any small ships, or men-of-war ketches, you may take what men you please.

" The officers of the ordnance send down ammunition to

the Rowling-grounds,[1] to be disposed by you. In cases not foreseen, (of which many may happen), H. R. H. leaves it to you, to do what you shall find best upon the place for the king's service. I am

"Your affectionate humble servant,

"WM. COVENTRYE."

Evelyn makes the same statement as Pepys, with respect to the report of the guns, but his printed Diary places it on the 1st of June.

"Being in my garden (at Deptford) at six o'clock in the evening, and hearing the great guns go thick off, I took horse, and rode to Rochester; then, next day, towards the Downs and sea-coast; but meeting the lieutenant of the *Hampshire* frigate, who told me what passed, or rather what had not passed, I returned to London, there being no noise or appearance at Deal, or on that coast, of any engagement. Recounting this to his majesty, whom I found at St. James's Park, impatiently expecting, and knowing that Prince Rupert was loose about three at St. Helen's Point, at north of the Isle of Wight, it greatly rejoiced him; but he was astonished when I assured him, they heard nothing of the guns in the Downs, nor did the lieutenant who landed there by five that morning."

"*6th.*—Sir Philip Frowde," says Pepys, "did meet "the duke with an express to Sir W. Coventry (who "was by) from Captain Taylor, the store-keeper at "Harwich, being the narration of Captain Hayward "of the *Dunkirk;* who gives a very serious account "how, upon Monday, the two fleets fought all day till "seven at night; and then the whole fleet of Dutch "did betake themselves to a very plain flight, and

[1] "Rowling-grounds, between the Gunfleet sand off Essex and the port "of Harwich."—MALHAM'S *Nav. Gaz.*

" never looked back again. That it is conceived
" reasonably, that of all the Dutch fleet, which, with
" what recruits they had, come to one hundred sail,
" there is not above fifty got home; and of them,
" few or any of their flags. We were all so over-
" taken with this good news, that the duke ran with
" it to the king, who was gone to chapel, and there
" all the court was in a hubbub, being rejoiced over
" head and ears in this good news. Away go I by
" coach to the new exchange, and there did spread
" this good news a little, though I find it had broke
" out before. And so home, to our own church, it
" being the common fast-day; and it was just before
" sermon. But, Lord! how all the people in the
" church stared upon me, to see me whisper to
" Sir J. Minnes and my Lady Penn. Anon, I saw
" people stirring and whispering below; and by and
" by comes up the sexton from my Lady Ford, to
" tell me the news (which I had brought), being now
" sent into the church by Sir W. Batten, in writing,
" from pew to pew. Idled away the whole night, till
" twelve at night, at the bonfire in the streets:
" mightily pleased with this happy day's news, be-
" cause confirmed by Sir Daniel Harvey, who was in
" the whole fight, with the general; and tells me,
" that there appear but thirty-six in all, of the Dutch
" fleet, left at the end of the voyage, when they ran
" home. The joy of the city was this night exceed-
" ing great."

" *7th.*—Up betimes, and to my office about busi-
" ness (Sir William Coventry having sent me word

" that he is gone down to the fleet, to see how
" matters stand, and to be back again speedily); and
" with the same expectation of congratulating our-
" selves with the victory, that I had yesterday. But
" my Lord Brouncker and Sir T. H., that come from
" court, tell me the contrary news, which astonishes
" me; that is to say, *that we are beaten;* lost many
" ships and good commanders; have not taken one
" ship of the enemy's; and so can only report our-
" selves a victory; nor is it certain, that we were
" left masters of the field. But above all, that the
" *Prince* run on shore upon the Galloper, and there
" stuck; and Sir G. Ascue is taken prisoner, and
" carried into Holland. This news do much trouble
" me; and the thoughts of the ill consequences of it,
" and the pride and presumption that brought us to
" it. By and by comes Mr. Wayth to me; and dis-
" coursing of our ill success, he tells me plainly,
" from Captain Page's own mouth (who hath lost an
" arm in the fight), that the Dutch did pursue us
" two hours before they left us, and then they suf-
" fered us to go homewards, and they retreated to-
" wards their own coast: which is very sad news.
" The duke much damped in his discourse touching
" the late fight, and all the court talk sadly of it.
" The duke did give me several letters he had re-
" ceived (from the fleet, and Sir W. Coventry and
" Sir W. Penn, who are gone down thither), for me
" to pick out some works to be done for the setting
" out the fleet again; and so I took them home with
" me, and was drawing out an abstract of them till

" midnight. And as to news, I do think that we are " beaten in every respect, and that we are the losers. " The *Prince* upon the Galloper, where both the " *Royal Charles* and *Royal Katherine* had come twice " aground, but got off. The *Essex* carried into Hol- " land; the *Swiftsure* missing (Sir W. Berkeley) ever " since the beginning of the fight. Captains Bacon, " Terne, Wood, Mootham, Whitty, and Coppin, " slain. The Duke of Albemarle writes, that he never " fought with worse officers in his life, not above " twenty of them behaving themselves like men."

" 10*th*.—I met with Pierce, the surgeon, who is " lately come from the fleet, and tells me, that all " the commanders, officers, and even the common " seamen, do condemn every part of the late conduct " of the Duke of Albemarle; both in his fighting at " all, running among them in his retreat, and run- " ning the ships on ground; so as nothing can be " worse spoken of. He says, however, that the " Duke of A. is as high almost as ever, and pleases " himself to think that he hath given the Dutch their " bellies' full, without sense of what he hath lost us; " and talks, how he knows now the way to beat " them. But he says, that even Smith himself, one " of his creatures, did himself condemn the late con- " duct from the beginning to the end."

Private letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Joseph Jordan to Sir William Penn.

" HONOURABLE,

" The first of June we weighed anchor from the back of the Goodwin Sands, at three in the morning, with intention

to have come to the Gunfleet; but some of our scouts, about seven o'clock, gave the signal of the Dutch fleet to leeward, so near as we could judge, eighty sail at anchor. At two in the afternoon we engaged them, being much wind. We could not carry out our lower tier, our starboard tacks aboard; and so fought (having the wind), till our admiral tacked, being disabled in rigging and masts, which caused him to go off and anchor to repair the same; which made us, with the rest (after an hour) to tack after him. Drawing near him, he came to sail again, but the enemy (by that advantage (got the wind, and we fought till nine or ten at night, proving less wind. Some of our ships, the *Swiftsure* one, at the first pass having her yard shot, were forced to leeward.

"2*d*.—Wind southerly. After our rigging, &c. much shattered, was repaired, we began the battle again, about six in the morn, and fought the enemy till the evening; masts, sails, and yards, more shattered, with the loss of men. The enemy this day received a supply of sixteen great ships, which gave them encouragement.

"3*d*.—Wind variable, easterly. We retreated with sixteen ships in a line abreadth, in the rear, and put all our disabled afore us. The enemy pursuing, could not get up to reach us till five in the evening; some shot they spent to no purpose. Before that, we espied some twenty sail standing towards us, which we judged (as it proved) to be Prince Rupert's fleet. We edging a little up towards them, most of the flag-ships unhappily were aground upon the Galloper Sands; all came off save the *Royal Prince*, who unfortunately was lost (to our unspeakable grief), fired by the enemy. This night Prince Rupert and we joined, bearing away northward for the aforesaid sand, by which means the enemy got the wind.

"4*th*.—Wind S.W. and W.S.W., the enemy to windward about three leagues. We made all sail, and they lay

with their sails to the mast to stay for us. The battle began again betwixt eight and nine this morning, and continued very fiercely. Sir Christopher Mings, and some other ships with him, which engaged the first pass, I judged were disabled; that made them bear away to leeward from us, which gave the enemy no small encouragement: yet our admiral, with the rest, continued fighting with courage in several forms. Sometimes we had the wind apart of them; otherwhiles they fought, and we the like, in a half-moon; and I suppose we lamed them most when they had the wind of us. Yet it gave us the advantage to burn five or six sail of their ships that day, and the second day of this date there was two of their vice-admirals burnt; one of them, this ship boarded, and caused to be fired; there were others sunk and lost on both sides.

"This 4th day, at seven at night, most of our great ships disabled in masts, yards, rigging, want of men to ply our guns, powder and shot near all spent, forced our retreat; in which the *Black Bull* and *Essex* falling aboard each other, and one to leeward, which I suppose was the *Convertine*, are in the hands of the enemy. I suppose the loss on both sides is much, in men and ships, equal, saving the *Royal Prince*. It is believed, that if Prince Rupert had been with us the first day, the enemy could not have escaped. But we must submit to the all-seeing Providence, who knows what is best for us. It is my part to praise my God that hath delivered me and this ship, wonderfully, after so many days' battle; the greatest passes, I think, that ever was fought at sea, too prolix for me to relate; only, beg your honour's favour, these lines may not be a prejudice unto him who is

"Your Honour's faithful servant,

"*Royal Oak*, June 5th, (66). JOSEPH JORDAN.

"The *Rupert's* mainmast shot away; she was forced to leeward afore the wind, two of the enemy's in pursuit.

"Let me humbly beg you to send to my poor wife, that God hath preserved me. My humble service to yourself, and yours. I have not, nor shall write a line of this nature to any, save your honour, who knows how to make use of it; as truth is not always to be writ. Captains Terne, Whitty, and Mootham, are slain. I have above (as I judge) 100 slain and wounded.

——— "J. J."

"This evening, we hear that Sir Christopher Mings "is dead of his wounds; and Sir William Coventry "did commend him to me in a most extraordinary "manner."

"11*th.*—I, with my Lady Penn and her daughter, "to see Harman, whom we find lame in bed. His "bones of his ankle are broke,[1] but he hopes to do "well soon; and a fine person, by his discourse, he "is: and he did plainly tell me, that at the council "of war before the fight, it was against his reason "to begin the fight then, and the reasons of most "sober men there; the wind being such, and we to "windward, that they could not use their lower tier "of guns."

"13*th.*—Invited to Sir Christopher Mings' fu- "neral; and there met with Sir W. Coventry (who "was there out of great generosity, and no person of "quality there but he), and went with him into his "coach; and being in it with him, there happened "this extraordinary case, one of the most romantic "that ever I heard of in my life, and could not have "believed, but that I did see it, which was this:—

[1] By the fall of one of the topsail yards.—Charnock.

"About a dozen able, lusty, proper men came to the "coach side, with tears in their eyes; and one of "them, that spoke for the rest, began, and said to "Sir W. Coventry: 'We are here a dozen of us, 'that have long known and loved and served our 'dead commander, Sir Christopher Mings; and 'have now done the last office, of laying him in the 'ground. We would be glad we had any other to 'offer after him, and in revenge of him. All we 'have is our lives; if you will please to get his 'royal highness to give us a fire-ship among us all, 'here are a dozen of us, out of all which choose you 'one to be commander, and the rest of us, whoever 'he is, will serve him; and, if possible, do that 'which shall shew our memory of our dead com-'mander, and our revenge.' Sir W. Coventry was "herewith much moved (as well as I, who could "hardly abstain from weeping), and took their names, "and so parted; telling me that he would move his "royal highness, as in a thing very extraordinary. "The truth is, Sir Christopher Mings was a very "stout man, and a man of great parts, and a most "excellent tongue among ordinary men; and, as Sir "W. Coventry says, could have been the most useful "man at such a pinch of time as this. He was "come into great renown here at home, and more "abroad in the West Indies. He had brought his "family into a way of being great; but, dying at this "time, his memory and name (his father being "always, and at this day, a shoemaker, and his "mother a hogman's daughter, of which he was used

"frequently to boast) will be quite forgot in a few "months, as if he had never been, nor any of his "name be the better by it; he having not had time "to will an estate, but is dead poor rather than rich. "So we left the church and crowd."

Evelyn thus records this engagement:

"*June 6th*,—Came Sir Daniel Harvey from the general, and related the dreadful encounter; on which, his majesty commanded me to dispatch an extraordinary physician and more chirurgeons. 'Twas on the solemn fast-day when the news came; his majesty, being in the chapel, made a sudden stop to hear the relation; which being with much advantage on our side, his majesty commanded, that public thanks should immediately be given, as for a victory. But this was no sooner over, but news came, that our loss was very great both in ships and men; that the *Prince* frigate was burnt, and as noble a vessel of 90 brass guns lost; and the taking of Sir George Ascue, and exceeding shattering of both fleets; so as both being obstinate, both parted rather for want of ammunition and tackle than courage, our general retreating like a lion; which exceedingly abated our former joy. There was, however, order given for bonfires and bells; but, God knows, it was rather a deliverance than a triumph. So much it pleased God to humble our late over-confidence, that nothing could withstand the Duke of Albemarle,[1] who, in good truth, made too forward a reckoning of his success now, because he had once beaten the Dutch in another quarrel, and being ambitious to

[1] "The body of the people loved and honoured him, nay (God forgive "them), they believed and trusted in him. They thought he could do all "things (as Martha said unto Christ, 'Lord, if thou hadst been here, our "brother Lazarus had not died'). How oft hath it been said by common "people, 'If the general had been here, the city had not been burned?'"—A Sermon at the funeral of the Most Honourable George Duke of Albemarle, by Seth Ward, Bishop of Sarum, 1670, p. 30.

outdo the Earl of Sandwich, whom he had prejudicated as deficient in courage."

"16*th.*—The king, Duke of York, and Sir W. "Coventry, are gone down to the fleet. It seems "the Dutch do mightily insult of their victory, and "they have great reason. Sir W. Berkeley was "killed before his ship taken; and there he lies dead "in a sugar-chest, for every body to see, with his "flag standing up by him. And Sir G. Ascue is "carried up and down the Hague, for people to "see."

This was the vulgar statement; and it is very probable, that insult was offered by the Dutch populace to the gallant Ascue, before their government could rescue him from their excited passions. But it is due to that government, to clear it from all suspicion of favouring such unworthy proceedings. The author of Sir George Ascue's life in the *Biographia Britannica* gives, in a note, a French translation of a letter written by that unfortunate officer during his confinement in the castle of Louvesteyn, to Charles II., in which he testifies the generous treatment he there experienced. The writer of that biographical article is disposed to question the authenticity of that letter, because the original English is not to be found; but, the probability of its authenticity will derive very satisfactory collateral support from the conduct of the Dutch government towards the body of Admiral Sir William Berkeley, as published in the *London Gazette* of July 15, 1666:—"*Whitehall.* A trumpet "from the States of Holland brought a letter to

" the king, acquainting, that they had embalmed the " body of Sir William Berkeley, and placed it in the " chapel of the great church at the Hague; desiring " his majesty to signify his pleasure about the further " disposal of it." It would be contrary to all justice and reason to question the good feeling of the Dutch governors towards a brave living admiral, when they gave such noble proof of their generosity to the remains of a dead one.

" June 17th," says Evelyn, " I went on shore at Sheerness; but here I beheld the sad spectacle, more than half that gallant bulwark of the kingdom miserably shattered; hardly a vessel entire, but appearing rather so many wrecks and hulls, so cruelly had the Dutch mangled us. The loss of the *Prince*, that gallant vessel, had been a loss to be universally deplored: we lost, besides, nine or ten more, and near 600 men slain, and 1100 wounded, 2000 prisoners; to balance which, perhaps, we might destroy eighteen or twenty of the enemy's ships, and 7 or 800 poor men."

" 18*th.*—Sir W. Coventry is returned this night " from the fleet, he being the activest man in the " world; and we all (myself particularly) more afraid " of him than of the king or his service, for ought " I see: God forgive me!"

" 19*th.*—To Sir G. Carteret's: he tells me how " the general is displeased, and there have been " some high words between the general and Sir " W. Coventry."

" 21*st.*—At the office all the morning; where, " by several circumstances, I find Sir W. Coventry " and the duke do not agree as they used to do."

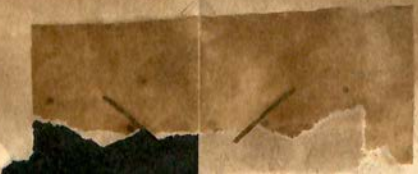
"24*th.*—In the gallery, among others, met with "Major Halsey, a great creature of the Duke of "Albemarle's: he says, that the Duke of Albemarle "do say that this is a victory we have had, having, "as he was sure, killed them 8000 men, and sunk "about fourteen of their ships; but nothing like this "appears true. He lays much of the little success "we have had, however, upon the fleets being divided "by order from above, and the want of spirit in the "commanders; and that he was commanded by order "to go out of the Downs to the Gunfleet, and in "the way meeting the Dutch fleets, what should he "do? Should he not fight them? especially having "beat them heretofore, at as great disadvantage. "By and by the council rises, and Sir W. Coventry "comes out; and he and I went aside, and dis-"coursed of much business of the navy; and after-"wards took his coach and to Hyde Park, he and I "alone; there we had much talk. First, he stated "a discourse of a talk he hears about the town, "which, says he, is a very bad one, and fit to be "suppressed, if we knew how; which is, the com-"paring of the success of the last year with that of "this; saying, that '*that was good, and that bad.*' "I was as sparing in speaking as I could, being "jealous of him and myself also, but wished it could "be stopped; but said, I doubted it could not, "otherwise than by the fleet's being abroad again, "and so finding other work for men's minds and "discourse."

In the mean time, Sir W. Penn was making

I cant send you the particulars of the last battell
but now for [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] silent
My Noble Lord of Chesterfield [illegible] obtained of [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] demonstration of my [illegible] [illegible] although
[illegible] well know my obligations & affections may lead
me to say — for much of any of [illegible] family yet really this is for his
[illegible] [illegible] onboard my [illegible] ship [illegible] Charles & [illegible]
know [illegible] present officers to be formally [illegible] & con-
=sequently I cannot [illegible] of a pretty good account
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] but [illegible] glad [illegible]
[illegible] is excepted by my very good Lord of Ann
to whom present my most humble [illegible] God
Good [illegible] & keeps you & [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Your off[illegible] father
W Penn

Fac Simile of
Sir W. Penns handwriting



extraordinary exertions to repair the fleet, and get it ready for sea; that its commander might, as speedily as possible, have the opportunity to redeem his own reputation, and that of the country, which he had so recklessly sacrificed. In a letter to his son in Ireland, he thus writes, at the end of June.

"SON WILLIAM,

"I have been from my house almost three weeks, cast upon the hardest work of a shattered fleet; and, at first, more materially to effect it. Yet, I thank God, I have so near weathered the point, as it will be dispatched even a week before the particulars committed to any of my brethren; which is taken notice of by our superiors in language not fit for me to write.

"I could send you the particulars of the last battle, but none so unfit, which makes me silent. My noble Lord of Ossory[1] hath obtained a fame in it beyond the demonstration of my pen. And although you well know my obligations and affections may lead me to say so much of any of that family, yet really this is so. His lordship was on board my old ship, the *Charles*, and you know the present officers to be formerly mine, and consequently, I cannot fail of a pretty good account. I have not time to enlarge, but am glad your service is accepted by my very good Lord of Arran, to whom present my most humble service. God guard, preserve, and keep you, and give us a good meeting. Amen! amen!

"Your affectionate father,

"WILLIAM PENN."

"*July* 1*st*.—Comes Sir William Penn to town," says Pepys, "which I little expected, having invited

[1] For a brief account of the heroic naval career of this illustrious nobleman, see Charnock's *Biog. Nav.* vol. i. p. 360.

" my lady and her daughter to dine with me to-day;
" which at noon they did, and Sir W. Penn with
" them; and pretty merry we were. And though I
" do not love him, yet I find it necessary to keep in
" with him: his good service at Sheerness, in getting
" out the fleet, being much taken notice of, and
" reported to the king and duke, even from the
" Prince and Duke of Albemarle themselves, and
" made the most of to me and them by Sir W.
" Coventry; therefore, *I think it discretion, great and*
" *necessary discretion, to keep in with him.*" Pepys might well have exclaimed here of himself (as he did of another, the 1st of September, 1661), " Good God!
" what an age is this, and what a world is this, that
" a man cannot live without playing the knave, and
" dissimulation!" Until the revelation of the *Diary*, Pepys was only known to the world by his ostensible nature; and certainly, no man ever wore a double personage with more ingenious success.

" The Commissioners of the Navy," says Clarendon, " were required to be assistant in all places;
" and so wonderful diligence was used (which ap-
" peared almost incredible), that the whole fleet was
" so well fitted, that by the seventeenth day of the
" same month, within a fortnight after so terrible a
" battle, it was gathered together to a rendezvous,
" to the buoy of the Nore." Clarendon could not fail to know, that the merit of this speedy reparation was universally assigned to one of the commissioners above his colleagues; but he was the friend of Sir W. Coventry, and therefore one to whose commenda-

tion he had no disposition that his pen should be contributory.

"*4th.*—In the evening, Sir William Penn came "to me," says Pepys; "and we walked together, "and talked of the late fight. I find him very plain, "that the whole conduct of the late fight was ill; "that two-thirds of the commanders of the whole "fleet have told him so: they all saying, that they "durst not oppose it at the council of war, for fear "of being called *cowards*, though it was wholly "against their judgment to fight that day, with the "disproportion of force; and then, we not being able "to use one gun of our lower tier, which was a "greater disproportion than the other. Besides, we "might very well have staid in the Downs, or any "where else, till the prince could have come up to "them; or, at least, till the weather was fair, that "we might have the benefit of our whole force in the "ships that we had.

"He says, three things must be remedied, or else "we shall be undone by this fleet. 1. That we must "fight in a line, whereas we fought[1] promiscuously, to "our utter and demonstrable ruin: *the Dutch fight "otherwise, and we whenever we beat them.* 2. We "must not desert ships of our own in distress, as we "did; for that makes a captain desperate, and he "will fling away his ship, when there are no hopes "left him of succour. 3. That ships, when they are "a little shattered, must not take the liberty to "come in of themselves, but refit themselves the

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 401, *note*; and after, p. 417.

"best they can, and stay out; many of our ships "coming in with very small disablenesses.

"He told me, that our very commanders, nay, "our very flag-officers, do stand in need of exercising "among themselves, and discoursing the business of "commanding a fleet: he telling me, that even one "of the flag-men in the fleet did not know which "tack lost the wind, or kept it, in the last engage-"ment. He says, it was pure dismaying and fear "that made them all run upon the Galloper, not "having their wits about them; and that it was a "miracle they were not all lost. He much inveighs "upon my discoursing of Sir John Lawson's saying "heretofore, that *sixty*[1] sail would do as much as "*one hundred*; and says, that he was a man of no "counsel at all; but had got the confidence to say "as the gallants did, and did propose to himself to "make himself great by them, and saying as they "did; but was no man of judgment in his business, "and hath been out in the greatest points that have "come before them. And then, in the business of "forecastles, which he did oppose, all the world sees "now the use of them, for shelter of men. He did "talk very rationally to me, insomuch that I took "more pleasure this night in hearing him discourse, "than I ever did in my life in any thing that he said."

[1] "Nothing betrays the weakness of human nature like success; a mean "opinion of the Hollanders being at that time not only the fault of the duke "(of Albemarle), but of the English in general. For a certain Dutch author "(*Eng. Nad. Munst. Oorl.* p. 279) brings in the English boasting, 'that sixty "of their ships were sufficient to cope with the whole fleet of the Hollanders.'" —[illegible], p. 1[illegible]

The Père Hoste, in a chapter entitled *Traverser l'Armée Ennemie—to pass through an Enemy's Fleet*, gives as full an account of this battle of 1666, as he had done of that of 1665.

"*Combat du Nord, l'an* 1666.

"Jamais personne ménagea mieux ces sortes de traversées que l'Amiral Ruiter dans le combat où il battit les Anglois l'onzième de Juin, et les trois jours suivans, l'an 1666. Les deux armées étoient chacune de près de cent vaisseaux de ligne; mais le Prince Robert, avec vingt gros vaisseaux, s'étoient détaché de l'armée d'Angleterre, pour aller au devant d'une escadre Françoise qui venoit joindre les Hollandois; et il avoit laissé le commandement du reste de l'armée au Général Monk. L'armée d'Hollande avoit mouillé en ligne à l'est-sud-est de la pointe nord d'Angleterre; Ruiter en avoit le corps-de-bataille, Tromp l'avant-garde au sud, et Evertz l'arrière-garde au nord: le vent étoit au sud-sud-ouest. Le Général Monk, qui étoit au-vent des ennemis, résolut d'aller à eux, quoiqu'il eût environ vingt vaisseaux de moins. Peut-être qu'il crût les surprendre à l'ancre; peut-être aussi que la victoire de l'année précédante lui fit mépriser l'ennemi; ou même le désir d'avoir tout l'honneur du combat l'aveugla, et le fit précipiter de se battre durant l'absence du Prince Robert. Quoiqu'il en soit, il vint à toutes voiles sur les Hollandois, qui l'attendirent à l'ancre jusqu'à ce qui fut à portée. Alors, ayant coupé leurs cables, ils commencèrent le combat, sur le midi, avec beaucoup de vigueur. Le vent étoit si frais que les Anglois, ne pouvant pas se servir de leurs batteries basses, avoient beaucoup de desavantage; c'est pourquoi après trois heures de combat ils *revirèrent* tous en même temps au nord-ouest, et *arrivant* de quelques *rumbs*, ils prirent le parti de la retraite, après avoir laissé quatre de leur vaisseaux desemparéz au pouvoir de l'ennemi. Les Hollandois poursuivirent les fuyards, mais

ceux-ci, tournant tête, continuèrent le combat jusqu'à dix heures du soir. Le lendemain les Anglois revinrent à la charge, et le combat fut plus opiniâtre que le jour précédent; les armées se traversèrent plusieurs fois, et ce fut dans cette occasion que Ruiter fit éclater son habilité et sa valeur: car, voyant que la plus grande partie de son avant-garde avoit été coupée, et qu'elle couroit grand risque d'être la proie des ennemis qui l'entouroient, il traversa de nouveau l'armée Angloise, et donna dessus avec tant de fureur qu'il délivra les siens, et mit les ennemis en fuite. Mais le lendemain le Prince Robert qui avoit rejoint son armée, recommença le combat, où Ruiter gagna enfin le vent aux ennemis; et parce-qu'il n'étoit plus si frais, il en profita si bien qu'il auroit entièrement défait les Anglois, si une brume ne les eût tiré des mains des victorieux, après la perte de leur amiral blanc, et de quinze autres de leurs grands vaisseaux: les Hollandois n'en perdirent que quatre."

[TRANSLATION.]

"*Battle of the North* (*Foreland*), *of* 1666.

"No one ever managed better the passing through an enemy's fleet, than the Admiral Ruyter in the battle in which he beat the English on the 11th of June (N.S.), and the three following days, in the year 1666. The two fleets consisted each of nearly 100 ships of the line; but Prince Rupert had separated himself, with twenty great ships of the English fleet, and was gone with them to meet a French squadron coming to join the Dutch; leaving the command of the rest of the fleet to General Monk. The Dutch fleet was anchored in line to the E.S.E. of the North Foreland of England; Ruyter was in the centre of the line, Tromp in the van to the southward, and Lyortz in the rear to the northward: the wind was S.S.W. General Monk, who was to windward of the enemy, resolved to attack them, although he was inferior in number

by about twenty ships. It would appear, either that he hoped to surprise them at their anchors; or, that the victory of the preceding year induced him to despise his enemy; or, that the desire of reaping the whole honour of the battle blinded him, and urged him to hasten an engagement in the absence of Prince Rupert. Whichever of these it might be, he came down, with all his sails set, upon the Dutch, who waited for him at their anchors until he came within gun-shot. Then, having cut their cables, they began the engagement at noon with great vigour. The wind blew so fresh, that the English, being unable to use their lower tier of guns, had a great disadvantage; so that, after fighting for three hours, they all at the same time tacked about to the N.W.; and bearing off some points, determined on a retreat, leaving four of their ships, disabled, in the power of the enemy. The Dutch pursued the fugitives; but these, making head, continued the fight till ten o'clock at night. The next day the English returned to the charge, and the battle was more obstinately fought than on the preceding day: the fleets passed through each other several times, and it was on that occasion that Ruyter displayed his skill and his valour; for, seeing that the greater part of his van division had been cut off, and that it ran great risk of falling a prey to the enemy who surrounded it, he again traversed the English fleet, and fell upon it with so much fury, that he extricated his own ships, and put his enemies to flight. But the next day Prince Rupert, who had rejoined the fleet, renewed the engagement, in which Ruyter at length gained the wind of his enemies; and because it did not blow so fresh, he availed himself of it so well, that he would have totally defeated the English, if a fog had not rescued them from the hands of the conquerors, after losing their admiral of the white,[1] and fifteen others of their large ships: the Dutch lost only four."

Thus, Monk forced an engagement, contrary to

[1] Sir George Ascue.

all naval judgment, at a time when the fleet was physically disabled from employing all its strength; and he then basely endeavoured to exculpate himself, by charging on the conduct of his naval officers[1] the manifest consequences of his own unskilfulness, presumption, and obstinacy.

That the Dutch regarded the issue of this conflict as the effacement of the disgrace they had incurred by their defeat in June of the preceding year, is shewn in the following passage from the *Life of De Ruyter*. "It is certain," says the author, "that "the Dutch sustained a very considerable check in "that battle (1665). Nevertheless, the loss was not so "great but that they had their revenge shortly after "(1666); making the English sensible, that the very "irritation of that disgrace had enabled them to give "proofs of their ancient valour. 'Il est certain que 'les Hollandois reçurent un échec fort considérable 'en cette bataille; mais néanmoins la perte ne fût 'pas si grande, qu'ils n'en ayent eu leur revenge un 'peu après, faisant voir aux Anglois, qu'étant irrités 'par cette disgrace, cela même les avoit rendus 'capable de donner des preuves de leur ancienne 'valeur'"[2]

"18*th*.—To St. James's," says Pepys, "after my "fellows; and here, among other things before us, "the Duke of York did say, that now at length (he) "is come to a sure knowledge that the Dutch did lose "in the late engagement twenty-nine captains and

[1] See above, p. 388.

[2] Pages 237, 238.

" thirteen ships. Upon which Sir W. Coventry did " publicly move, that if his royal highness had this of " a certainty, it would be of use to send this down to " the fleet; and to cause it to be spread about the fleet, " for the recovering of the spirits of the officers and " seamen, who are under great dejection, for want " of knowing that they did do any thing against the " enemy, notwithstanding all that they did to us. " Which, though it be true, yet methought was one " of the most dishonourable motions to our country- " men that ever was made, and is worth remember- " ing. Thence with Sir W. Penn home, calling at " Lilly's to have a time appointed when to be drawn " among the other commanders of flags (in) the last " year's fight. And so full of work Lilly is, that he " was fain to take his table-book out, to see how his " time is appointed; and appointed six days hence " for him to come, between seven and eight in the " morning."

" 19*th*.—The fleet is sailed this morning; God " send us good news of them!"

" *Sir W. Coventry to Sir W. Penn.*

" Sir, July 20th (66).

" Together with this you will receive your instructions, with blank commissions; and all which I can think of, to arm you for the business you go on. Pray God send you a good voyage, and us all good news!

" If any pressed men be in the Tower, I think it were good they were sent on board the 5th rates in the river, and they dispatched away.

"I know the Prince and Duke of Albemarle had once a thought of sending some fifth-rates to the coast of Holland during the fight, hoping they might pick up some ships going home. I think it might be a good design, provided they burn or sink all they take.

"One thing I just now think of, which might be added to your instructions, but it is too late; I will endeavour to get it supplied by the post to Harwich, to meet you; it is that, upon occasion, you might take land-men to put on board from Harwich, if my lord general have not commanded away those companies. I am

"Your affectionate humble servant,

"W. COVENTRYE."

"*James, Duke of York and Albany, Earl of Ulster, Lord High Admiral of England and Ireland, Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Governor of Portsmouth.*

"*Instructions for Sir William Penn.*

"You are forthwith to embark yourself on his majesty's yacht, the *Henrietta* (the commander whereof is hereby required to observe your orders); and going down the river, you are to observe what ships remain behind the fleet unmanned, and to send me an account where they are, and the particulars of their condition, with your opinion which way they may be made most useful for his majesty's present service.

"You are to endeavour, if possible, to man some of them, so as they may be fit for service, and to give them such orders as you shall, by the intelligence you may meet with, find most proper; that so, by the expecting orders, opportunity of service may not be lost.

"Having given the best order you can to the dispatch of those ships that are left behind the fleet, you are to sail into

the King's Channel, or to Harwich, or any other places there adjacent, (having in the way touched at Sheerness, to give order for all necessary preparations there), that so you may be near the places most probable to receive advertisements from the fleet (which I suppose near an engagement); and especially, to give directions for sending into port all such ships as shall come in maimed so as to need it; observing this caution, not to send any into Harwich which need repairs, until the success of the battle be known.

"And because it may so happen, that the officers of his majesty's ships may, upon occasion of some small damage received, bring their ships into port when they might do service by staying out, or at least that some small supply may put them again in condition of service; the prevention whereof being one of the chief ends for which I send you at present; you are therefore, upon the first notice of any of his majesty's ships coming upon the coast, to go, or send some skilful person on board, to examine the cause of their return; and if you find they have returned without just cause, or otherwise misbehaved themselves, you are, by virtue of the blank commissions which shall be given you herewith, to put some other person (the fittest you can find) in their room, and forthwith send the ship to the fleet; giving her such supply as the time and opportunity will permit, and her need may require; and such instructions as you shall judge fit.

"And because it is impossible at this distance, and before the time, to foresee all those circumstances and occasions to which orders and instructions ought to be fitted, I do hereby, by his majesty's approbation and direction, give you full power and authority to give such orders as shall seem to you, upon the place, most conducible to his majesty's service; willing and requiring all his majesty's officers, as well of ships as yards, to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall send them from time to time, as they will answer the contrary.

"You are, as frequently as you can, to give me an account of all passages; and to use all fit and probable means, after the fleet shall be engaged, to get intelligence from them, and send it to me.

"These powers and instructions are to continue in force during the time that the body of the fleet shall continue at sea, or until I shall send you other orders. Given under my hand and seal at St. James's, this 20th of July, 1666.

"(Signed) JAMES.

"By command of His R. Highness,
(Signed) W. COVENTRYE."

"23*d.*—All full of expectation of the fleet's engagement, but it is not yet. Sir W. Coventry says, "they are eighty-nine men-of-war, but one fifth "rate; and that the *Sweepstakes*, which carries 40 "guns. They are most infinitely manned. He tells "me, the *Loyal London*, Sir J. Smith (which, by the "way, he commends to be the best ship in the world, "large and small), hath above 800 men; and, moreover, takes notice, which is worth notice, that the "fleet hath lain now fourteen days without any demand for a farthing-worth of any thing, of any "kind, but only to get men. He also observes, that, "with this excess of men, nevertheless, they have "thought fit to leave behind them sixteen ships, "which they have robbed of their men; which certainly might have been manned, and they have "been serviceable in the fight, and yet the fleet well "manned; and sent away with the Gottenburgh "ships. They conclude this to be much the best "fleet, for force of guns, greatness and number of

" ships and men, that ever England did see; being, " as Sir W. Coventry reckons, besides those left be- " hind, eighty-nine men-of-war, and twenty fire-ships, " though we cannot hear that they have with them " above eighteen. The French are not yet joined " with the Dutch, which do dissatisfy the Hol- " landers, and if they should have a defeat, will " undo De Witt; the people generally of Holland do " hate this league with France."

" 25*th.*—At Whitehall; and by and by come " people out of the park, telling us that the guns are " heard plainly. And so every body to the park, " and by and by the king and duke into the bowling- " green, and upon the leads, whither I went, and " there the guns were plain to be heard; though it " was pretty to hear how confident some would be " in the loudness of the guns, which it was as much " as ever I could do to hear them."

" 27*th.*—To Sir W. Coventry's lodging, and there " he shewed me Captain Talbot's letter, wherein he " says, that the fight begun on the 25th; that our " white squadron begun with one of the Dutch squa- " drons, and then the red with another, so hot that " we put them both to giving way, and so they " continued in pursuit all the day, and as long as he " staid with them; that the blow fell to the Zealand " squadron; and, after a long dispute, he, against " two or three great ships, received eight or nine " dangerous shots, and so come away; and says, he " saw the *Resolution*[1] burned by one of their fire-ships,

[1] A third rate: see the list of the fleet, 1365. The old *Resolution*, or *R. Prince*, first rate, was lost in the preceding actions of June.

" and four or five of the enemy's. But says, that " two or three of our great ships were in danger of " being fired by our fire-ships; which Sir William " Coventry nor I cannot understand. But upon the " whole, do doubt that this gallant is come away a " little too soon, having lost never a mast nor sail. " And then we did begin to discourse of the young " genteel[1] captains, which he was very free with me " in speaking his mind of the unruliness of them; and " what a loss the king hath of his old men, and now " of this Hannam, of the *Resolution*, if he be dead. " He told me, how he is disturbed to hear the com- " manders at sea called cowards here on shore."

Sir William Coventry to Sir William Penn.

" Sir, " July 28th (66).

" I have yours (four in number) from the Rowling-grounds (July 26th, nine in the morning, ten at night, twelve at night, and 27th, eleven at night); which, I repeat, that you may know what is answered, and to thank you for them, all together. I hope the news you sent in them is the forerunner of a great victory, though I dare not be so confident as many of my neighbours, who reckon it done; which, methinks, is foul play to those who venture their lives in the action. For, when we so easily swallow a vast victory, whatever falls out less than our expectation dissatisfies us; and subtracts (though injuriously) from the honour of those who deserve better from us. Therefore, for my part, I endeavour to put water in men's wine: the good news, can never be spoiled but by overgreat expectations; and the same, turns the least misfortune into dejection and despair.

" The king and his royal highness saw Captain Talbot's

[1] *i. e.* gentlemen appointed to command ships, who had never served. See above, p. 213.

letter before I had it. They did a little suspect the captain made more haste than good speed, seeing no masts lost, and that the shots under water were not so dangerous but that he brought off his ship by luffing, which was the way to take in more water, and strain her wounded masts; and therefore, they are apt to think her defects might have been cured without a port. What the other two are, I cannot guess. Captain Ady sends me word, that the *Pearl*, *Nightingale*, and *Oxford*, sailed on Thursday afternoon; so hope they are with you ere this. God send us good news from the fleet, and you good health, is the prayer of

"Your affectionate humble servant,

"W. COVENTRYE.

"Mr. Pepys assures me, they are sending stores to Sheerness as fast as they can.

"Pray send word how the lieutenant of the *Breda* hath behaved himself."

"29*th*.—All the town is full of a victory. By and "by, a letter from Sir W. Coventry tells me that we "have the victory; beat them into the Weilings; "had taken two of their great ships, but, by the or- "ders of the generals, they are burned. This being, "methought, but a poor result after the fighting of "two so great fleets, and four days having no tidings "of them: I was still impatient, but could know no "more. I to Sir W. Batten, where the lieutenant "of the Tower was, and Sir John Minnes, and the "news I find is what I had heard before; only that "our blue squadron, it seems, was pursued the most "of the time, having more ships, a great many, than "its number, allotted to its share. Young Seymour[1]

[1] Captain Hugh Seymour, of the *Foresight*, fourth rate. CHARNOCK, *Biog. Nav.* vol. i. p. 136.

" is killed, the only captain slain. The *Resolution* " burned; but, as they say, most of her crew and " commander saved. This all, only we keep the " sea, which denotes a victory, or, at least, that we " are not beaten; but no great matters to brag of, " God knows."

Sir W. Coventry to Sir W. Penn.

" Sir, " July 29th (66).

" Yours of yesterday, two afternoon, by express, I received this morning about six of the clock, soon after the arrival of Sir Thomas Clifford with the good news; for which God be thanked! I have moved his royal highness for your coming away, according to your desire, to which he consents; but, first, you must give the orders necessary for the dispatch of the Gottenburgh fleet, with the convoy of four fifth-rates; according to what the prince and general advise. Pray give them their directions, and dispatch them as soon as may be; in which, I conceive, it will do well to order them, at least in their return, to keep the Scotch and English shores as much as they can; because we cannot absolutely say how the case will be ere they return. . . . . The officers of the ordnance desire their stores from Newhaven and Rye may go directly for Harwich, if convoyed by any ships by your direction. I am

" Your affectionate humble servant,

" W. Coventrye."

" 30*th*.—To Sir W. Coventry, at St. James's. I " find him speaking very slightly of the late victory; " dislikes their staying with the fleet up their coast, " believing that the Dutch will come out in fourteen " days, and then we with our unready fleet, by " reason of some of the ships being maimed, shall

" be in bad condition to fight them upon their own " coast; is much dissatisfied with the great number " of men, and their fresh demands of twenty-four " victualling ships, they going out the other day as " full as they could stow. He spoke slightly of the " Duke of Albemarle; saying, when De Ruyter came " to give him a broadside,—' Now,' says he (chew- " ing of tobacco the while), ' will this fellow come ' and give me two broadsides, and then he shall run;' " but it seems he held him to it two hours, till the " duke himself was forced to retreat to refit, and was " towed off, and De Ruyter staid for him till he came " back again to fight. One in the ship saying to the " duke, ' Sir, methinks De Ruyter hath given us ' more than two broadsides;'—' Well,' says the duke, ' but you shall find him run by and by.' And so he " did, says W. Coventry; but after the duke himself " had been made to fall off. The *Resolution* had all " brass guns, the same that Sir J. Lawson had in her " in the Straits. It is observed, that the two fleets " were even in number to one ship."

" *August* 1*st.*—Walked over the park with Sir " W. Coventry, who I clearly see is not thoroughly " pleased with the late management of the fight, nor " with any thing that the generals do; only is glad " to hear that De Ruyter is out of favour, and that " this fight hath cost them 5000 men, as they them- " selves do report. And it is a strange thing, as he " observes, how now and then the slaughter runs on " one hand, there being 5000 killed on theirs, and " not above 400 or 500 killed and wounded on ours;

" and as many flag-officers on theirs as ordinary " captains in ours."

" 3*d.*—The death of Evertson, and report of our " success, beyond expectation, in the killing of so " great a number of men, hath raised the estimation " of the late victory considerably; but it is only " among fools, for all that was but accidental. But " this morning, getting Sir W. Penn to read over " *the Narrative* with me, he did sparingly, but plainly, " say that we might have intercepted their Zealand " squadron coming home, if we had done our parts; " and more, that we might have run before the wind " as well as they, and have overtaken their ships in " the pursuit, in all the while."

" 15*th.*—Was called up by a letter from Sir W. " Coventry; which, among other things, tells me " how we have burned 160 ships of the enemy at " the Fly. I up, and with all possible haste, it " being our day of attending the Duke of York, to " St. James's, where they are full of the particulars; " how they are general good merchant-ships, some " of them laden, and supposed rich ships. We spent " five fire-ships upon them. We landed upon the " Schelling (Sir Philip Howard with some men, and " Holmes, I think, with others, about 1000 in all), " and burned a town, and so come away. By and " by, the Duke of York with his books shewed us the " very place and manner: and that it was not our " design and expectation to have done this, but only " to have landed on the Fly and burned some of " their stores; but being come in, we spied those

" ships, and with our long-boats, one by one, fired " them, our ships running all aground, it being so " shoal water. We were led to this by, it seems, a " renegado captain of the Hollanders, who found " himself ill-used by De Ruyter for his good service, " and so came over to us, and hath done us good " service; so that now we trust him, and he himself " did go on this expedition. The service is very " great, and our joys as great for it. All this will " make the Duke of Albemarle in repute again, I " doubt. The guns of the Tower going off, and " bonfires in the street, for this late good success."

" 22*d.*—I to St. James's, and there with the Duke " of York. I had opportunity of much talk with Sir " W. Penn to-day (he being newly come from the " fleet); and he do much undervalue the honour " that is given to the conduct of the late business " of Holmes in burning the ships and town, saying, " it was a great thing indeed, and of great profit to " us in being of great loss to the enemy; but that it " was wholly a business of chance."

" 23*d.*—Sir W. Coventry sent me word, that the " Dutch fleet is certainly abroad; and so we are to " hasten all we have to send to our fleet with all " speed. But, Lord! to see how my Lord Brouncker " undertakes the dispatch of the fire-ships, when he " is no more fit for it than a porter; and all the " while Sir William Penn, who is the most fit, is " unwilling to displease him, and do not look after " it; and so the king's work is like to be well " done."

"26*th.*—I was a little disturbed with news my "Lord Brouncker brought me, that we are to attend "the king at Whitehall this afternoon, and that it is "about a complaint from the generals against us. "Sir W. Penn and I by coach to Whitehall, and "there staid till the king and cabinet met in the "green chamber, and then we were called in; and "then the king begun with me, to hear how the "victuals of the fleet stood. I did, in a long dis-"course, tell him and the rest (the Duke of York, "lord chancellor, lord treasurer, both the secretaries, "Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry) how it stood; "wherein they seemed satisfied, but press mightily "for more supplies; and the letter of the generals, "which was read, did lay their not going, or too "soon returning from the Dutch coast, this next "bout, to the want of victuals. They then pro-"ceeded to the inquiry after the fire-ships; and did "all very superficially, and without any severity "at all."

"28*th.*—Sir W. Coventry did read me a letter "from the generals to the king, a most scurvy letter, "reflecting most upon him, then upon me, and then "upon the whole office, in neglecting them and the "king's service; and this, in very plain, and sharp, "and menacing terms."

"29*th.*—To St. James's, and there Sir W. Co-"ventry took Sir W. Penn and me apart, and read "to us his answer to the generals' letter to the king, "that he read last night; wherein he is very plain, "and states the matter in full defence of himself,

" and of me with him. And then, speaking of the " supplies that have been made to this fleet, more " than ever in all kinds to any, even that wherein " the Duke of York himself was; ' Well,' says he, ' if this will not do, I will say, as Sir J. Falstaffe did ' to the prince, Tell your father, that if he do not ' like this, let him kill the next Piercy himself.'"

Pepys relates two conversations that took place some months after, with relation to the two sea-engagements of this year; which will be best introduced here. " Captain Guy (says he) to dine with " me (28th October), and he and I much talk to- " gether. He cries out of the discipline of the fleet, " and confesses really, that the true English valour " we talk of is almost spent and worn out; few of " the commanders doing what they should do, and " he much fears we shall therefore be beaten the " next year. He assures me, we were beaten home " the last June fight; and that the whole fleet was " ashamed to hear of our bonfires. He tells me, we " are to owe the loss of so many ships on the sands, " not to any fault of the pilots, but to the weather; " but in this, I have good authority to fear there " was something more. He says, that *the Dutch do* " *fight in very good order*, and *we in none at all*.[1] " He says, that in the July fight, both the prince " (Rupert) and Holmes had their bellies' full, and " were fain to go aside; though, if the wind had " continued, we had utterly beaten them. He do

[1] Compare above, p. 399.

" confess the whole to be governed by a company " of fools, and fears our ruin."

The other conversation took place at the Duke of Albemarle's table, on the 4th of April of the following year. " I find the Duke of Albemarle," says Pepys, " at dinner with sorry company, some of his " officers of the army; dirty dishes, and a nasty wife " at table, and bad meat, of which I made but an ill " dinner. One Colonel Howard, at the table, mag- " nified the Duke of Albemarle's fight in June last, " as being a greater action than ever was done by " Cæsar. The Duke of A. did say, it had been no " great action, had all his number fought, as they " should have done, to have beat the Dutch; but of " his 55 ships, not above 25 fought. He did give an " account, that it was a fight he was forced to: the " Dutch being come in his way, and he being ordered " to the buoy of the Nore, he could not pass by them " without fighting, nor avoid them without great dis- " advantage and dishonour. But I remember he " said, had all his captains fought, he would no more " have doubted to have beat the Dutch, with all " their number, than to eat the apple that lay on his " trencher. My lady duchess, among other things, " discoursed of the *wisdom* of dividing the fleet; " which the general said nothing to, though he well " knew it came from themselves in the fleet, and " was brought up hither by Sir Edward Spragge. " Colonel Howard asking, how the prince did? the " Duke of A. answering ' Pretty well,' the other " replied, ' But not so well as to go to sea again.'

'How!' says the duchess, 'what should he go for, 'if he were well, for there are no ships for him to 'command? And so you have *brought your hogs to 'a fair market,'* said she. It was pretty to hear the "Duke of Albemarle wish that they would *come on* "*our ground* (meaning the French); for that he "would pay them, so as to make them glad to go "back to France again: which was like a general, "but not like an admiral."

In taking a review of the sea-fights of this year, two things are manifest; 1st, That if the fleet had been wholly committed to seamen, the action of the 1st of June would not have been fought, and we should not have been beaten and disgraced. 2d, That the actions of July would have been equally gained by the same seamen whose valour did gain them, but without so skilless and ruinous a waste and sacrifice of ships. "These two summers of 1665, 1666," says Sir W. Temple, "were renowned with three battles "of the mightiest fleets that ever met upon the "ocean, whereof two were determined by entire and "unquestioned victories, and pursuit of our enemies "into their very havens. The third, having begun "by the unfortunate division of our fleet, with odds "of ninety of their ships against fifty of ours; and in "spite of such disadvantage, having continued, or "been renewed, for three days together, (wherein "we were every morning the aggressor); ended at last "by the equal and mutual weakness and weariness "on both sides, the maims of ships and tackling, "with want of powder and ammunition, having left

" *undecided* the greatest action that will appear on " record of any story. And in this battle Monsieur " de Witt confessed to me, that we gained more " honour to our nation, and to the invincible courage " of our seamen, than by the other two victories; " that he was sure their men could never have been " brought on the two following days, after disadvan- " tages of the first; and he believed no other nation " was capable of it but ours."[1] It is not surprising that Temple should have forgotten the successive days' fighting of February and June 1653, and that he should therefore have presented those of 1666 as a new naval phenomenon: cavalier memory appears to have been extraordinarily oblivious of mere national glory.

Sir W. Coventry to Sir W. Penn.

" Sir, Sunday, Sept. 7th, (66).

" I have yours of the 6th, and am sorry to hear you have such reason to judge the fleet so defective. I did hope it had been from the trick of the commanders, who love new masts, &c., and the reputation of having had the others disabled; and I do not doubt but somewhat of the first report will be saved by a narrow inspection. Our board will write to you about sending ketches to weigh the anchors and cables. The way you propose, of sending a man from each ship, is very good. I am not able to say any more at present, nor hath the prince's arrival as yet made any change. I am

" Your affectionate friend and servant,

" W. C.

" Pray clear the third and fourth rates, which are strong and fit for sea, as fast as you can."

[1] Works, vol. i. p. 190. 8vo.

During the fire of London, (in this year, 1666), we find Pepys active in availing himself of the advantage of his "discretion in keeping in with "Sir W. Penn."

"*Sept. 4th.*—Sir W. Penn and I to the Tower "Street, and there met the fire burning three or "four doors beyond Mr. Howell's, whose goods, "poor man, his trays, and dishes, and shovels, &c., "were flung all along Tower Street in the kennels, "and people working therewith from one end to the "other; the fire coming on in that narrow street, "on both sides, with infinite fury. Sir W. Batten, "not knowing how to remove his wine, did dig a pit "in the garden, and laid it in there; and I took the "opportunity of laying all the papers of my office "that I could not otherwise dispose of: and in the "evening, Sir W. Penn and I did dig another, and "put our wine in it, and I my Parmezan cheese, as "well as my wine and some other things. The "Duke of York was at the office this day, at Sir "W. Penn's; but I happened not to be within. This "afternoon, sitting melancholy with Sir W. Penn in "our garden, and thinking of the certain burning of "this office, without extraordinary means, I did pro-"pose for the sending up of all our workmen from "the Woolwich and Deptford yards. So Sir W. "Penn went down this night, in order to the sending "them up to-morrow morning."

"*5th.*—I up to the top of Barking steeple, and "there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I "ever saw; every where great fires, oil-cellars, and

" brimstone, and other things burning. I became " afraid to stay there long, and therefore down again " as fast as I could, the fire being spread as far as I " could see it; and to Sir W. Penn's, and there eat " a piece of cold meat, having eaten nothing since " Sunday but the remains of Sunday's dinner."

" *7th.*—I home late to Sir W. Penn's, who did " give me a bed, but without curtains or hangings, " all being down; so here I went for the first time " into a naked bed, only my drawers on, and did " sleep pretty well; but still, both sleeping and " waking, had a fear of fire in my heart, that I took " little rest."

" *9th.*—To Sir W. Penn's to bed, and made my " boy Tom to read me asleep."

" *12th.*—Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. " Penn to St. James's by water, and there did our " usual business with the Duke of York."

Sir W. Coventry to Sir W. Penn.

" Sir, Oct. 2d, (66).

" H. R. H. hath this morning signed a letter to the office, for the substance of which I refer you to the perusal of it. Since that, H. R. H. hath thought fit (for the better execution of the matters therein contained, or at least part of them; as also for some other things which I shall, by H. R. H.'s order, impart to you) that you go to the Buoy of the Nore, where it is supposed the fleet will be before you can get thither.

" When you arrive there, you are to attend his highness Prince Rupert, if then on the fleet; but if he shall be gone, you are to confer with Sir Thomas Allen, and, by the best means you can, to learn the state of the fleet, and according to their several conditions, to send the ships to his majesty's

yards for their repair, and to be cleaned if they want it, and no other great repairs. This being your work in general, you are more particularly, and with as much privacy as you can, to inquire what ships may be fitted for the several services hereafter mentioned; viz.

"For a voyage to Gottenburgh, to bring home the masts-ships. This to be done with all speed.

"For a convoy to the Straits, to carry out merchant-ships, and bring home the ships at Leghorn. If they be ready to sail by the end of this, or beginning of the next month, it will be sufficient.

"For a winter-guard for the narrow seas; in which are to be considered chiefly these stations:

"Some ships to the northward, to secure the trade from Newcastle to London.

"Some few ships about the Downs.

"The chief station at Portsmouth; which perhaps may require a good strength, since no man knows what either Dutch or French may attempt for passing the channel, for a conjunction.

"For securing the trade at the Land's-end and Soundings, which, if the French lie about Brest, (whither they are gone), may require good ships.

"According as you shall find ships in condition for these services, you are to order them to clean and fit, or not, and to dispose victuals from the victuallers at the Buoy of the Nore, and demand other if there shall be occasion; only, those ships which shall be designed for Portsmouth, it may be hoped, will find a good provision there; but even of that it will be fit to communicate with the victualler. I am

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"W. C."

"*October 7th.*—To Whitehall, where met by Sir "W. Batten and Lord Brouncker, to attend the king

" and Duke of York at the cabinet; but nobody
" determined what to speak of, but only in general
" to ask for money. So I was forced immediately to
" prepare in my mind a method of discoursing; and
" anon we were called into the green-room, where
" the king, Duke of York, Prince Rupert, lord
" chancellor, lord treasurer, Duke of Albemarle,
" Sirs G. Carteret, W. Coventry, Morrice. Nobody
" beginning, I did, and made a current, and I thought
" a good speech, laying open the ill state of the
" navy; by the greatness of the debt, greatness of
" the work to do against next year, the time and
" materials it would take, and our incapacity through
" a total want of money. I had no sooner done, but
" Prince Rupert rose, and told the king in a great
" heat, that whatever the gentleman had said, he
" had brought home his fleet in as good condition
" as ever any fleet was brought home; that twenty
" boats would be as many as the fleet would want;
" and all the anchors and cables left in the storm
" might be taken up again. This arose from my
" saying, among other things we had to do, that the
" fleet was come in—the greatest fleet that ever his
" majesty had got together—and that in as bad
" condition as the enemy or weather could put it:
" and, to use Sir W. Penn's words, who is upon the
" place taking a survey, 'he dreads the reports he
' is to receive, from the surveyors, of its defects.'
" I therefore did only answer, that I was sorry for
" his highness's offence; but that what I said, was
" but the report we received from those entrusted in

" the fleet to inform us. He muttered, and repeated " what he had said; and so, after a long silence on " all hands, nobody, not so much as the Duke of " Albemarle, seconding the prince, nor taking notice " of what he said, we withdrew. I was not a little " troubled at this passage; and the more, when " speaking with Jack Fenn about it, he told me the " prince will be asking, *Who this Pepys is?* and find " him to be a creature of my Lord Sandwich's; and " therefore, this was done only to disparage him."

" 15*th.*—This day," says Pepys, " the king " begins to put on his vest, and I did see several " persons in the house of lords and commons too, " who are great courtiers, who are in it; being a " long cassock close to the body, of black cloth, and " pinked with white silk under it, and a coat over it, " and the legs ruffled with black riband like a " pigeon's leg; and, upon the whole, I wish the king " may keep it, for it is a very fine and handsome " garment."

" 17*th.*—The court is all full of vests, only my " Lord St. Alban's not pinked, but plain black; and " they say the king says, the pinking upon white " makes them look too much like magpies, and " therefore hath bespoke one of plain velvet."

" 18*th.*—To court," says Evelyn; " it was the first time his majesty put himself solemnly into the Eastern fashion, changing doublet, stiff collar, bands and cloak, into a comely vest, after the Persian mode; with girdle or straps, and shoe-strings or garters into buckles, of which some were set with precious stones: he resolved never to alter it, and to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtained, to our great

expense and reproach: upon which, divers courtiers and gentlemen gave his majesty gold, by way of wager, that he would not persist in his resolution. I had, some time before, presented an invective against that inconstancy, and our so much affecting the French fashion, to his majesty, in which I took occasion to describe the comeliness and usefulness of the Persian clothing, in the very same manner his majesty now clad himself. The pamphlet I entitled, 'Tyrannus, or the Mode,' and gave it to his majesty to read. I do not impute to this discourse the change which soon happened, but it was an identity that I could not but take notice of."

"30*th.*—To London to our office, and now had on the vest and surcoat, or tunic, as it was called after his majesty had brought the whole court to it. It was a comely and manly habit, too good to hold, it being impossible for us in good earnest to leave the *Monsieurs'* vanities long."

"*November* 4*th.*—My tailor's man," says Pepys, "brings my vest home, and coat to wear with it, "and belt, and silver-hilted sword."[1]

Neither Pepys, nor Evelyn, nor either of their respective editors, have given us any insight into the origin of this puerile fancy of the vest. Sir William Coventry, in his 'Character of a Trimmer,' gives the following full account of that short-lived conceit:

"Upon pretence of his queen's title to part of Flanders by right of devolution, the King of France (Lewis XIV.) falleth into it with a mighty force; for which the Spaniards were so little prepared, that he made a very swift progress, and had such a torrent of undisputed victory, that England

[1] I have not discovered what was worn on the head with this fantastical dress. It is to be presumed that the periwig was laid aside whilst the infatuation lasted; for nothing more absurd can well be imagined than the periwig with a Persian vest.

and Holland, though the wounds they had given one another were yet green, being struck with the apprehension of so near a danger to them, thought it necessary, for their own defence, to make up a sudden league, into which Sweden was taken, to interpose for a peace between the two crowns. This had so good an effect, that France was stopped in its career, and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was a little after concluded. 'Twas a forced putt; and though France very wisely dissembled their own dissatisfaction, yet, from the moment, she resolved to untie the triple knot, (of England, Holland, and Sweden), whatever it cost them; for his Christian majesty, after his conquering meals, ever riseth with a stomach; and he liked the pattern so well, that it gave him a longing desire to have the whole piece.

"Amongst the other means used for the attaining this end, the sending over the Duchess of Orleans[1] was not the least powerful. She was a very welcome guest here; and her own charms and dexterity, joined with other advantages that might help her persuasions, gave her such an ascendant that she could hardly fail of success. One of the preliminaries of her treaty, though a trivial thing in itself, yet was considerable in the consequence, as very small circumstances often are, in relation to the government of the world. About this time a general humour, in opposition to France, had made us throw off their fashions, and put on vests, that we might look more like a distinct people, and not be under the servility of imitation, which ever payeth a greater deference to the original than is consistent with the equality all independent nations should pretend to. France did not like this small beginning of ill humours, and least, of emulation;

[1] Henrietta Anne, Princess Royal of England and sister of Charles II., married to Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Lewis XIV. She was born in 1664, and died in 1670, under suspicion of being poisoned; which suspicion is enforced by the annotator to the last edition of Madame de Sévigné's Letters. Paris, 1813, vol. i. p. 192, *note*.

wisely considering, that it is a natural introduction, first to make the world their apes, that they may be afterwards their slaves. It was thought, that one of the instructions Madame[1] brought along with her, was to laugh us out of these vests; which she performed so effectually, that, in a moment, like so many footmen who had quitted their master's livery, we all took it again, and returned to her service;[2] so that the very time of doing it gave a very critical advantage to France, since it looked like an evidence of our returning to her interest, as well as to their fashion; and would give such a distrust of us to our new allies, that it might facilitate the dissolution of the knot, which tied them so within their bounds, that they were very impatient till they were freed from the restraint."

"8*th*.—Sir W. Coventry," says Pepys, "did this "night tell me, how the business is about Sir J. "Minnes; that he is to be a commissioner, and "my Lord Brouncker and Sir W. Penn are to be "comptrollers jointly, which I am very glad of, and "better than if they were either of them alone; and "do hope truly that the king's business will be better "done thereby, and infinitely better than it now is."

In the beginning of this year, Sir W. Penn, being unable to give personal attention to his concerns in Ireland, sent over his son to superintend his estates

[1] *Madame de France*, style of the Duchess of Orleans as consort of *Monsieur de France*, Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood.

[2] The French took a very ingenious course to quiz us out of these vests. "*Nov.* 22*d*, 1666.—M. Batelier," says Pepys, "tells me the news, how the "King of France hath, in defiance of the King of England, caused all his "foot-men to be put into vests; and that the noblemen of France will do "the like."

and interests in that kingdom, with the following letter of introduction to Sir George Lane, secretary to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant:

"HONOURED SIR,

"I cannot leave his majesty's service in England, to attend my own affairs in Ireland, as things now stand. I have therefore sent the bearer, my son, in my stead; and humbly desire the continuation of your favour to him, as it hath unfailingly been hitherto to me. I have instructed him how great my obligation is to you, (which I hope shortly to solve in part), and desire that he should become bound with me ever to remain,

"Honoured sir,

"Your most obliged and very humble servant,

"London, Feb. 8th, 1665-6. WILLIAM PENN.

"These:
For Sir George Lane, Dublin."

The son was received with the utmost kindness at the vice-regal court, where the Duke of Ormonde's regard for his father procured him many distinguished acquaintance, to whom he well recommended himself by his own personal qualities. His spirit was high and enterprising; and the forwardness he displayed on the occasion of a mutiny of the soldiers in the castle of Carrickfergus, induced the Duke of Ormonde to think of giving him the active command of the foot-company attached to his father's government of the fort of Kinsale. His cousin, Captain (afterwards Sir Richard) Rooth, who commanded the *Dartmouth* on the Irish coast, thus wrote to Sir W. Penn.

"From on board his majesty's frigate the *Dartmouth*, under sail near Ilfracombe, this 19th July, 1666.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"Since my last from Holyhead, I have been at Carrickfergus, when the soldiers mutinied; and was there commanded by his grace to remain till the castle was reduced, which was done by the Lord of Arran,[1] and four companies of the R. regiment; an account whereof, I presume, your honour have long since had from my cousin William, who was pleased to accompany his lordship in that action, to his no small reputation."

From William Penn, the Son, to his Father.

"HONOURABLE SIR,

"When I was at Carrickfergus with my Lord of Arran, Sir George Lane, in my Lord Dunagle's house, called me aside, and told me, the character my Lord Arran had pleased to give his father, obliged him to write you a letter on my behalf; which was, to surrender your government and fort. My lord lieutenant himself, before a very great company, was pleased to call me to him, and asked, Whether you had not done it, and why? I answered, that you once intended it, and that his lordship had promised to favour your request. To assure you of my lord's design, I saw the letter under his own hand, but am to seek whether Sir George Lane sent it or no, which I am to ask of yourself; my lord lieutenant telling me several times, he wondered you never answered his letter. I excused it, by the remoteness of your present residence from London. If there be any under-dealing, 'tis the secretary's fault, not my lord's. However, sir, I humbly conceive it may be necessary you take notice of my lord's kindness in a letter by the very first, since he has asked

[1] Richard Butler, second son of the Duke of Ormonde, created Earl of Arran in 1662.

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WILLIAM PENN, JUNR

London, Published 1833 by James Duncan, Paternoster Row.

whether you had writ me any thing in reference to it. I beseech your answer to this, as also, if you please, an acknowledgment to my lord lieutenant's and Lord of Arran's great and daily kindness. I wish, sir, you may have respite from your troubles, and some refreshment from your continual toils, (we supposing the fleet to be near out).

" I am, sir,

" Your most obedient son,

" Dublin, 4th July, 1666. W. P."[1]

The Duke of Ormonde to Sir William Penn.

" Sir,

" Remembering that formerly you made a motion for the giving up your company of foot here to your son, and observing his forwardness on the occasion of repressing the late mutiny among the soldiers in this garrison, I have thought fit to let you know, that I am willing to place the command of that company in him, and desire you to send a resignation to that purpose; and so I remain,

" Your affectionate servant,

" Carrickfergus, the 29th of May, 1666. " Ormonde.

" Sir W. Penn."

It is evident that Sir W. Penn thought his son's ambition was travelling a little too fast, from the following brief and gentle rebuke addressed to him; and from his letter to the Duke of Ormonde, which shortly followed it.

[1] The annexed plate is copied from the only portrait of William Penn, (afterwards the celebrated quaker), that was ever painted. It was taken at the time of this correspondence, when he was twenty-two years of age. The medallions of his head, which are in common circulation, have been taken from a profile in clay executed after his death, from memory, by Mr. Silvanus Bevan.

"SON WILLIAM, July 17th, 1666.

"I have received two or three letters from you since I wrote any to you. Besides my former advice, I can say nothing but advise to sobriety, and all those things that will speak you a Christian and a gentleman, which prudence may make to have the best consistency. As to the tender made by his grace my lord lieutenant, concerning the fort of Kinsale, I wish your youthful desires mayn't outrun your discretion. His grace may, for a time, dispense with my absence; yours he will not, for so he told me. God bless, direct, and protect you.

"Your very affectionate father,

"W. P."

"*To the Duke of Ormonde.*[1]

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"I have received your grace's letter, intimating your great favour and benevolence towards my son, in offering to invest him with the command of my company at Kinsale Fort. I heartily wish he may live and strive to deserve your grace's good opinion of him, for which I here acknowledge myself still more your grace's debtor.

"I should have answered it sooner, but that I have late been abroad upon his majesty's service; and my stations so various, that some days were spent before it came to my hands.

"May it please your Grace,

"I can never be thankful enough for your goodness to me and mine, especially whilst I remain so remote; but, God sending an end to this present war (which I hope will not long continue), I shall endeavour to follow the great inclina-

[1] I am indebted for this letter to the courtesy of the present Marquess of Ormonde.

tion which I have, to fix in Ireland; God preserving your grace's life, a main motive to my design. For which cause, I humbly beg your grace would be pleased to respite your thoughts of that favour (towards my son) for the present: yet to continue your grace's kind thoughts of him, who I hope will ever be, as I am,

"Your Grace's most obedient servant,

"*August* 7, 1666. W. P.

"To his Grace, James, Duke of Ormonde,
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,
Humbly present."

In a letter to his son, of the 2d October, he writes thus:

"I have yours, with your answers to Wallis's reasons, and know not how to say more about that business; but must leave you to the direction and blessing of God Almighty, who I am sure will be just, whatever men are. I am as much concerned for your honour (it being the first of your appearance in the world) as for the bone that's contended for; and yet, I judge it to be a bone very full of marrow."

This letter refers to the compensation granted by the king to Sir W. Penn, for his surrender of Macromp to the Earl of Clancarty, against which grant a claim had been set up by one Colonel Wallis; but the claim was overruled, and the grant confirmed, by the commissioners appointed for the settlement of the kingdom of Ireland.[1]

In a later letter to his son, who had obtained the office of victualling the ships at Kinsale, he thus wrote:

[1] See Appendix N.

"As to the victualling, there are many things to be considered; two or three I will hint to you, that you may thoroughly inform yourself about them, not omitting any others that may occur to you upon the place. One is, supposing the king to declare to have 100 men victualled for one year: what stock must you have to carry on that work? and so, proportionable in a greater number. Again; what has been, and what may reasonably be supposed to be, the profit upon the 100 men's victuals, all sorts of charges deducted? If in either of these you take wrong measures, farewell *forty-pence*. Wherefore, believe no person, or thing, but clear demonstration. Another thing, inform yourself rightly of by particulars; which is, how, and how much, it will really advance our estate there. When you have done this, which I think will take up no long time, and do find that you can settle your business so as no damage may befall us there in your absence, I think you were best make a step over to me (the commissioners being here) to consult upon the whole. Yet let me give you this caution; contrive your passage so as to make it most safe, with reliance upon Him who alone is able to make it so."

1667.

"*At the Court of Whitehall, the* 16*th January*, 1666-7.

"PRESENT,

"The King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

"Whereas it is found by experience that the office of comptroller of his majesty's navy, which being of ancient institution, and exercised by a single person in times of less business, and when his majesty's navy was much less, hath, in these times of action, so much business depending upon it, and many times in places far distant the one from the other, that it is not possible for one person to manage it as it ought to be for the good of his majesty's service; in consideration whereof, his majesty hath been pleased to direct, that two assistants be added to Sir John Minnes, knt., the present comptroller of his majesty's navy, and that the work and employment of that office be so divided as that each may manage a distinct part thereof, and be able to render an exact account of his performance, that so it may appear where the default is, in case his majesty's service suffer detriment through the undue execution of that office. It was therefore ordered, by his majesty in council, that so much of the duty and office of the comptroller of his majesty's navy as concerns the keeping checks and counter-books upon the treasurer of his majesty's navy, and comptrolling the same, from the time of the last account passed, be, and shall be, exercised by William Viscount Brouncker, one of the commissioners of his majesty's navy, as fully as it hath, or ought formerly to have, been by the present, or any preceding comptroller: And, that so much of the duty and office of comptroller as concerns the accompts of the victualler of his majesty's navy, and pursers of his majesty's ships, shall be executed by Sir William Penn, knt., one other of the com-

missioners of his majesty's navy, in as full and ample manner as the present, or any former comptroller, hath or ought to have done. For the doing, performing, and executing the distinct duties of part of the office of comptroller of his majesty's navy herein expressed, by the said William Viscount Brouncker and Sir William Penn, this shall be to either, or both of them, sufficient warrant and authority. And it was farther ordered, that the remaining part of the comptroller's duty be, and shall be, still executed by Sir John Minnes, knt., comptroller of his majesty's navy. And hereof the said William Viscount Brouncker, Sir John Minnes, and Sir William Penn, the treasurer of his majesty's navy, and the rest of the principal officers and commissioners thereof, as the victualler of his majesty's navy, and the auditors and other officers of his majesty's exchequer, and all other persons concerned, are required to take notice, and conform to his majesty's pleasure herein declared accordingly."

"*Jan.* 21*st.*—This night at supper," says Pepys, "comes, from Sir W. Coventry, the order of council "for my Lord Brouncker to do all the comptroller's "part relating to the treasurer's accounts, and Sir "W. Penn all relating to the victuallers; and Sir "J. Minnes to do the rest. This, I hope, will do "much better for the king; and, I think, *will give* "*neither of them ground to overtop me,* as I feared "they would, which pleases me much."

"*March* 6*th.*—To Whitehall; and here the Duke "of York did acquaint us (and the king did the like "also afterwards, coming in) with his resolution of "altering the manner of the war this year; that is, "we shall keep what fleet we have abroad, in several "squadrons. So that, now, all is come out; but we

" are to keep it as close as we can, without hindering " the work that is to be done in preparation to this. " Great preparations there are to fortify Sheerness " and the yard at Portsmouth, and forces are draw- " ing down to both those places, and elsewhere by " the sea-side; so that we have some fear of an " invasion; and the Duke of York did himself de- " clare his expectation of the enemy's blocking us " up here in the river, and therefore directed, that " we should send away all the ships that we have to " fit out, hence."

" *15th.*—Letters, this day come to court, do tell " us, that we are likely not to agree; the Dutch " demanding high terms, and the King of France " the like, in a most braving manner."

" *23d.*—At the office, where Sir W. Penn came, " being returned from Chatham, from considering " the means of fortifying the river Medway, by a " chain at the Stakes and ships laid there with guns, " to keep the enemy from coming up to burn our " ships; all our care being, now, to fortify ourselves " against their invading us."

" *Memorandum*[1] *of a Consultation held at Sheerness, March 20th,* 1666-7, *for the security of the said place, &c.*

Being present,

Sir W. Penn,	Sir Edward Spragg,	Captain Waters,
Commissioner Pett,	Captain Rond,	Mr. Longly,
Captain Trafford,	Mr. Lawrence,	Mr. Lately,
Mr. Phin. Pett,	Mr. Gregory,	Mr. More,
Mr. Norman,	Captain Harris,	Wm. Codbury.
Mr. Turnbridge,		

[1] In Sir W. Penn's handwriting.

"Resolved, That a platform of twelve whole culverins at the Ness (Nore), be placed for the best advantage for the intercepting any ships that shall intend up the river.

"To have a good seaman for each gun, and a master gunner; labourers, soldiers, &c. to supply the rest.

"That the ketches have each, to grapnels and chains, a very good pinnace, with chains, grapnels, and shore-hooks.

"The *Hind* ketch, to have four minion more.

"The *Unity*, to have 20 seamen more, to make her number 60, and to have a very good rowing-boat, furnished as above.

"To have another nimble fire-ship, to be joined to the *Dolphin* now here; and that each fire-ship hath, besides their ordinary boat, a very good pinnace furnished as above. All the ships and ketches to be cleaned.

"Sir Edward Spragg will give directions where the ships, ketches, &c. shall ride; and from time to time how they shall proceed."

"*24th.*—To the Duke of York," says Pepys, "where we all met, and there was the king also; "and all our discourse was about fortifying of the "Medway, and Harwich, (which is to be entrenched "quite round), and Portsmouth. And here they "advised with Sir Godfrey Lloyd and Sir Bernard "de Gunn, the two great engineers, and had the "plates drawn before them; and, indeed, all their "care they now take is to fortify themselves, and "are not ashamed of it; for when, by and by, my "Lord Arlington come in with letters, and seeing "the king and D. of York give us, and the officers "of the ordnance, directions in this matter, he did "move, that we might do it as privately as we could, "that it might not come into the Dutch Gazette

" presently: as the king's and D. of York's going " down the other day to Sheerness was, the week " after, in the Harlem Gazette. The king and D. " of York both laughed at it, and made no matter, " but said, ' Let us be safe, and let them talk; for ' there is nothing will trouble them more than to ' hear that we are fortifying ourselves.' And the " D. of York said; ' What said Marshal Turenne, ' when some in vanity said that the enemies were ' afraid, for they entrenched themselves?' ' *Well,*' ' says he, ' *I would they were not afraid, for then* ' *they would not entrench themselves, and so we could* ' *deal with them the better.*' "

" 31*st.*—To church; and with my mourning " very handsome, and new periwig, make a great " show. Walked to my lord treasurer's, where the " king, Duke of York, and the cabal, and much " company without, and a fine day. Anon come out " from the cabal, my Lord Hollis and Mr. H. Co- " ventry, who, it is conceived, have received their " instructions from the king this day, they being to " begin their journey towards their treaty at Breda " speedily, their passes being come. The month " shuts up only with great desires of peace in all of " us, and a belief that we shall have a peace, in most " people, for there is a necessity of it; for we cannot " go on with the war, and our masters are afraid to " come to depend upon the good-will of the parlia- " ment any more, as I do hear."

" *April 9th.*—Towards noon I to the Exchange, " and there do hear mighty cries for peace, and that

" otherwise we shall be undone; and yet do suspect " the badness of the peace we shall make."

" 26*th.*—To Whitehall, and there saw the Duke " of Albemarle, who is not well, and do grow crazy. " Certain news of the Dutch being abroad on our " coast with twenty-four great ships."

" 31*st.*—To the treasury chamber. Here I met " with Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me that he is told " this day, by secretary Morris, that he believes we " are, and shall be, only fooled by the French; and " that the Dutch are very high and insolent, and do " look upon us as come over only to beg a peace; " which troubles me very much, and I do fear it is " true."

" *June* 3*d.*—Sir William Doyly did lay a wager " with me the treasurership would be in one hand " (notwithstanding this present commission) before " Christmas; on which we did lay a poll of ling, a " brace of carps, and a pottle of wine; and Sir W. " Penn and Mr. Scowen to be at the eating of it. " Thence down by water to Deptford, it being Trinity " Monday, when the master is chosen;[1] and so I " down with them; and we had a good dinner of " plain meat, and good company at our table: " among others, my good Mr. Evelyn, with whom " after dinner I stepped aside, and talked upon the " present posture of our affairs; which is, that the

[1] " Sir W. Penn was elected master of the corporation, Monday the 3d " June, 1667, and continued in that office until the following Trinity Monday, " the 18th May, 1668.—Trinity-House, 17th May, 1832."

I am favoured with the above note by Jacob Herbert, Esq., secretary of the Trinity-House.

" Dutch are known to be abroad with eighty sail of " ships of war, and twenty fire-ships; and the French " come into the Channel with twenty sail of men-of- " war, and five fire-ships; while we have not a ship " at sea to do them any hurt with, but are calling in " all we can, while our ambassadors are treating at " Breda, and the Dutch look upon them as come to " beg peace, and treat them accordingly."

On the 29th of this month, Sir W. Penn thus wrote to his son:—" The Dutchmen's being in the " river hath occasioned my great toil and labour. I " thank God, I was not at Chatham when our loss " was sustained there; but, the contrary, God hath " (praised be his name) blessed my endeavours where " I have been." This passage referred to the greatest disgrace our navy and country ever sustained.

" 8*th.*—Up," says Pepys, " and to the office, " where all the news this morning is, that the Dutch " are come with a fleet of eighty sail to Harwich, " and that guns were heard plain by Sir W. Ryder's " people at Bednall-green all yesterday even. The " news is confirmed that the Dutch are off Harwich, " but had done nothing last night. The king hath " sent down my Lord of Oxford to raise the countries " there; and all the western barges are taken up to " make a bridge over the river about the Hope, for " horse to cross the river, if there be occasion."

" 10*th.*—Up; and news brought us that the " Dutch are come up as high as the Nore, and more " pressing orders for fire-ships. W. Batten, W. Penn, " and I to St. James's, where the Duke of York

" gone this morning betimes, to send away some " men down to Chatham. So, we then to White- " hall, and meet Sir W. Coventry, who presses all " that is possible for fire-ships."

The great arsenal at Chatham was immediately under the care of Pett, the resident commissioner, but under the general superintendence of Monk, in consequence of his having caused himself to be appointed general at sea, and lieutenant-general, under the Duke of York, of all his majesty's forces by sea and land. The following is Monk's official report of that disgrace, as it was presented by him to the House of Commons, on the 10th of February of the following year.

The Duke of Albemarle's Report.

" I went early on Tuesday, the 11th of June, to Chatham, where I found scarce twelve of eight hundred men, which were then in the king's pay, in his majesty's yards; and those so distracted with fear, that I could have little or no service from them. I had heard of thirty boats which were provided by his royal highness; but they were all, except five or six, taken away by those of the yards, who went themselves with them, and sent and took them away by the example of Commissioner Pett, who had the chief command there, and sent away his own goods in some of them. I found no ammunition there but what was in the *Monmouth;* so that I presently sent to Gravesend for the train to be sent to me, which got thither about two of the clock next day. After I had dispatched this order, I went to visit the chain, which was the next thing to be fortified for the security of the river, where I found no works for the defence of it. I then immediately set soldiers to work for the raising of two batteries,

for there were no other men to be got; and when I employed them in it, I found it very difficult to get tools, for Commissioner Pett would not furnish us with above thirty, till, by breaking open the stores, we found more. I then directed timber and thick planks to be sent to the batteries, and guns also, that they might be ready to be planted as soon as the batteries were made; and, in the next place, I sent Captain Wintour, with his company, to Upnore Castle, which I took to be a place very fit to hinder the enemy from coming forwards, if they should force the chain: and, upon further consideration, though I had horse near the fort, lest the enemy should land there, I commanded Sir Edward Scott, with his company, for a further strength of the place; and gave him the charge of it, with orders to let me know what he wanted for the security thereof.

"Having thus provided for Upnore, I considered where to sink ships without the chain, next to the enemy, as a further security to it. I found five fire-ships, and the *Unity*, upon the place; and, advising with Commissioner Pett, and the master of attendance, and the pilot, how to do it, Pett told me, it was their opinion, that if three ships were sunk at the narrow passage by the Muscle Bank, the Dutch fleet could not be able to come up: and I, relying upon their experience, who best knew the river, gave orders accordingly for the doing of it. But when this was done, they said they wanted two ships more, which I directed them to take and sink. After this I ordered Sir Edward Spragg to take a boat, and sound whether the sinking of those would sufficiently secure the passage; which he did, and found another passage (which the pilot and master of attendance had not before observed), that was deep enough for great ships to come in. I thereupon resolved to sink some ships within the chain, and provide some against there should be occasion. I went then to look after the other ships and batteries, and to see the men and all things ready; but I found the guns which I had

before ordered to be there, not yet come down; and instead of thick oaken planks, (of which there was good store in the yards, as it afterwards appeared), the commissioner would only send planks of deal, saying, he had no other; which proved very prejudicial in the use of them; for they were so weak, that at every shot the wheels sunk through the boards, which put us to a continual trouble to get them out.

"About noon, before the batteries were quite raised, the enemy came on to the place where our first ships were sunk. I went on board the *Monmouth* with fifty volunteers, and appointed soldiers in other ships to make the best defence we could, if they had proceeded; but they were so encumbered before they could clear the way through the sunk ships, and find another passage, that the tide was spent, and therefore they made no further advance that day; whereby we had time to consider what to do against the next attempt. There were two ships ordered to lie within the chain, to be ready to sink if occasion should be: and wanting one ship more to sink in the middle between these two ships, I that night ordered the *Sancta Maria*, a great Dutch prize, to be sunk in the deepest place between the two foresaid ships; and I judged it so necessary to be done, that I charged Commissioner Pett, and the master of attendance, on peril of their lives, to do it by morning, they having time enough, before the tide served, to provide things to carry her down. Commissioner Pett, who had received orders from his royal highness, on the 26th of March, to remove the *Royal Charles* above the dock, had, for about nine or ten weeks, neglected those orders; and when I was getting all the boats I could (for I wanted many) for carrying materials for the batteries, and ammunition and soldiers for the defence of all our places, he came and told me, he would carry her up that tide if he might have boats, which I could not then spare; for if they were gone, all our batteries must have been neglected, and I could not transport the timber, powder and shot, and men to them, to

resist the enemy the next day. And beside, it was advised at that instant, if the Dutch should have landed in the marsh by the *Crane*, she might have been useful, and have hindered them, having guns on board. Nevertheless, having notice shortly after that there was neither sponge, ladle, powder, nor shot in her, I sent Captain Millet, commander of the *Matthias*, about ten in the morning, with orders to Commissioner Pett to carry her up as he could the next tide; who pretended he could not then do it, because there was but one pilot that would undertake it, and he was employed about sinking of ships. And seeing she was not removed in the morning, I myself spoke to Commissioner Pett in the evening, in the presence of Colonel MacNoughton and Captain Mansfield, to fetch her off that tide; but notwithstanding these orders, the ship was not removed, but lay there till the enemy took her. On the same morning, by break of day, I went to see what was done about the *Sancta Maria*, and found men towing her along to the place intended, and they had time enough to do their business; but, soon after I had dispersed my orders to the ships, I looked and saw the *Sancta Maria*, by the carelessness of the pilots and masters of attendance, was run on ground, at which I was much troubled; for if that ship had been sunk in the place where I appointed, the Dutch ships could not have got beyond those of ours sunk within the chain, and thereby none of the king's ships within could have been destroyed, in regard that our guard-ships, within our batteries, would have hindered them from removing our sunk ships.

"About ten o'clock on Wednesday, the enemy came on with part of their fleet, and two men-of-war, five or six fire-ships, and some other men-of-war seconding them. They first attempted the *Unity*, which was placed on the right hand, close without the chain, to defend it; and they took her; and one of their fire-ships struck upon the chain, but it stopped it. Then came another great fire-ship, and, with the

weight of the two, the chain gave way; and then the ships came on in that very passage where the *Sancta Maria* should have been sunk. They burnt the two guard-ships, and took off the *Royal Charles*, wherein the gunners and boatswain did not do their duty in firing her; though they say they attempted it twice, but the fire did not take. This was all that I observed of the enemies' action on Wednesday. Our next care was to provide against the tide which served the next day: I inquired what had been done by Sir Edward Scott at Upnore, and sent him as many of those things he needed as I could get boats to carry them to him, and sent likewise a company more than was formerly ordered, to reinforce the place in case of landing; and then directed three batteries to be made in the king's yard, but could not get a carpenter, but two that were running away. I also planted that night about fifty cannon in several places, besides those that came with the train of artillery, which were also planted. I staid all night in the place with the men; and having no money to pay them, all I could do or say was little enough for their encouragement: for I had no assistance from Commissioner Pett, nor no gunners or men to draw on the guns, except the two masters of attendance.

"On Thursday morning betimes, Upnore was in a pretty good condition, and our batteries ready: I got some captains of ships and other officers, sea-volunteers, and others that came to me, to ply the guns; and other land-volunteers did assist them to draw them on the batteries. About noon, the enemy came on again with two men-of-war and two fire-ships, and some more men-of-war following them: the first two anchored before Upnore, and played upon it, whilst the fire-ships passed by to the *Great James*, the *Royal Oak*, and the *Loyal London*. The first two fire-ships burnt without any effect; but the rest went up and burnt the three ships mentioned: and if we had had but five or six boats to cut off the boats of the fire-ships, we had prevented the burning of

those ships; but those being burnt, as soon as the tide turned, they went back, and made no further attempt. I had, in the morning before this action, received his majesty's command to return to London; but I thought it most for his service to stay till the attempt was over: and then, having left upon the place the Earl of Carlisle and the Earl of Middleton to command there till further order, I came away about eight in the evening, and by two in the morning arrived at London." [1]

Though Monk could escape the censure of parliament on this occasion, through his influence in the house of commons, such a galling ignominy could not fail to exasperate the feelings of the country; and to give the keenest edge to satire, in those who employed that searching instrument against the court and ministry of the day. It is thus represented by Sir John Denham, in his "*Directions to a Painter.*"

"Here, painter, let thine art describe a story
Shaming our warlike island's ancient glory;
A scene which never on our seas appeared
Since our first ships were on the ocean steered.
Make the Dutch fleet, while we supinely sleep,
Without opposers masters of the deep.
Make them securely the Thames' mouth invade,
At once depriving us of that and trade.
Draw, thunder from their floating castles sent
Against our forts, weak as our government.
Draw Woolwich, Deptford, London, and the Tower,
Meanly abandoned to a foreign power.
Yet, turn their first attempt another way,
And let their cannons upon Sheerness play;
Which, soon destroyed, their lofty vessels ride
Big with the hope of the approaching tide.
Make them more help from our remissness find,
Than from the tide, or from the eastern wind.

[1] Reports were made, also, by the Duke of York and Prince Rupert. Further accounts of this disgrace will be found in the London Gazettes of the time, Nos. 164, 165, 166, &c.; as also in the Diaries of Pepys and Evelyn.

Their canvass swelling with a prosp'rous gale,
Swift as our fears, make them to Chatham sail.
Through our weak chain their fire-ships break their way,
And our great ships, unmanned, become their prey.
Then draw the fruit of our ill-managed cost,
At once our honour and our safety lost.
Bury those bulwarks of our isle in smoke,
While their thick flames the neighbouring country choke.
The *Charles* escapes the raging element,
To be with triumph into Holland sent;
Where the glad people to the shore resort:
They see their terror now become their sport.
But, painter, fill not up thy piece before
Thou paint'st confusion on our troubled shore.
Surpassing Chatham, make Whitehall appear,
If not in danger, yet at least in fear."

The "*Last Instructions to a Painter*," by Andrew Marvel, thus heightens the latter portrait:

"Monk, from the bank, that dismal sight doth view.
But when the *Royal Charles* (what rage, what grief!)
He saw seized, and could give it no relief;
That sacred keel that had, as he, restored
Its exiled sovereign on its happy board;
And thence the British admiral became
Crown'd, for that merit with his master's name;
That pleasure-boat of war; in whose dear side
Secure, so oft he had the foe defied;
Now a cheap spoil, and the mean victor's slave,
Taught the Dutch colours from its top to wave;
Of former glories the reproachful thought,
With present shame compared, his mind distraught."[1]

[1] The history of this gallant vessel—"my old ship the *Charles*"—is deeply afflicting and humiliating, and presents to the contemplation a true and perfect tragedy (without the unities) of five distinct acts. 1. Her first floating, in all her bravery, from the dock of the Usurper, in 1655 (see above, p. 80, note); her triumphant riding off the captured Dunkirk; and receiving on her board, to a sumptuous banquet, the great minister of France, the Cardinal Mazarin, in 1658 (p. 172). 2. Her departure from the British shore to the Dutch coast, with greater exultation, in 1660, to surrender her rebel name of *Nasehy* to her rightful sovereign, and be honoured with his royal name; and to convey his royal person to his native land, and to the throne

" This last poem," says Pepys, " made my heart " ache to read, it being too sharp, and *so true!*"

" 25*th.*—Up," says Pepys, " and with Sir W. " Penn, in his new chariot, (which indeed is plain, " but pretty and more fashionable in shape than any " coach he hath, and yet do not cost him, harness " and all, above 32*l.*), to Whitehall, where staid a " very little: and thence to St. James's, to Sir W. " Coventry, whom I have not seen since before the " coming of the Dutch into the river, nor did indeed " know well how to go to see him, for shame either " to him or me, to find ourselves in so much " misery."

" *July* 2*d.*—To the office, where W. Penn and " myself and Sir T. Harvey met, the first time we " have had a meeting since the coming of the Dutch " upon this coast."

" 9*th.*—This evening," says Pepys, " news comes " for certain, that the Dutch are with their fleet " before Dover, and that it is expected they will " attempt something there. The business of the " peace is quite dashed again."

of his august progenitors. 3. Her departure in hostile guise, with all the proudest circumstances of war; her chastisement of her country's foe; and her return, in undisputed triumph, and unequivocal glory. 4. Her last departure, to re-encounter the same foe, but in the wane of her glory; her return, with undiminished renown of valour, but with notable diminution of the pride and lustre of victory. 5. Her surprisal and seizure at her own domestic moorings; her abandonment by her natural defenders; and her transport into captivity, amidst the acclamations and insults of her daring captors. Here, surely, was a subject for the tragic, the epic, or the elegiac muse, no less than for the satiric.

"*At the Court at Whitehall, the* 17*th July*, 1667.

"PRESENT,

"The King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

"Whereas, by letters from this board of the 6th of this instant July, the principal officers and commissioners of his majesty's navy were required immediately to put in hand the weighing of the ships at Woolwich; and it being this day represented to his majesty in council, by Sir W. Penn, that they have already weighed all the ships at Blackwall, and desiring to receive his further pleasure; it was this day ordered, that the said principal officers and commissioners of his majesty's navy do forthwith proceed to the weighing of the ships sunk at Woolwich."

"29th July," says Evelyn, "I went to Gravesend, the Dutch fleet still at anchor before the river, where I saw five of his majesty's men-of-war encounter above twenty of the Dutch, in the bottom of the Hope; chasing them, with many broadsides given and returned, towards the Buoy of the Nore, where the body of their fleet lay; which lasted till about midnight. One of their ships was fired, supposed by themselves, she being run on ground. Having seen this bold action, and their braving us so far up the river, I went home the next day, not without indignation at our negligence and the nation's reproach. 'Tis well known, who of the commissioners of the treasury gave advice that the charge of setting forth a fleet this year might be spared, *Sir W. C.* by name."[1]

[1] This unjust charge against Sir William Coventry is directly refuted by the Duke of York himself, in a testimony from his own *Life*, &c., subjoined by Evelyn's editor in a note to his preceding page. "The parliament," says the duke, "giving but weak supplies for the war, the king, to save charges, "*is persuaded by the chancellor, the Lord Treasurer Southampton, the Duke of* "*Albemarle, and the other ministers*, to lay up the first and second-rate ships, "and make only a defensive war in the next campaign. The Duke of York

The treaty of peace with Holland, was at length concluded at Breda, on the 31st of this month (July). For the naval article of that treaty, which was in no respect impaired or affected by the recent destructive success of the Dutch in the Thames, see Appendix G.

"*August* 20*th*.—Sir W. Coventry," says Pepys, "fell to discourse of retrenchments. He do tell me, "he hath propounded how the charge of the navy in "peace shall come within 200,000*l*., by keeping out "twenty-four ships in summer, and ten in the winter. "He did single out Sir W. Penn and me, and desired "us to lend the king some money, out of the prizes "taken by Hogg."[1]

"30*th*.—At Whitehall," says Pepys, "I met with "Sir G. Downing, who tells me of Sir W. Penn's "offering to lend 500*l*.; and I tell him of my 300*l*., "which he would have me lend upon the credit of "the latter part of the act; but I understand better,

"opposed this, but was overruled."—(*Life of King James II.* vol. i. p. 425.) The present disaster, however, did not result solely from the diminishing the fleet, but from the having totally neglected the local defences; and might have been prevented by a moderate naval force, and skilfully fortifying the shore.

1 "*December* 29*th*, 1666.—Called up," says Pepys, "with news from Sir "W. Batten, that Hogg hath brought in two prizes more; and so I thither, "and hear the particulars, which are good; one of them, if prize, being worth "4000*l*.: for which, God be thanked!"

"*July* 17*th*, 1667.—Home, where I am saluted with the news of Hogg's "bringing a rich Canary prize to Hull; and Sir W. Batten do offer me 1000*l*. "down, for my particular share, besides Sir Richard Ford's part; which do "tempt me; but yet I would not take it, but will stand and fall with the "company. This news makes us all very glad. I, at Sir W. Batten's, did "hear the particulars of it; and there, for joy, he did give the company that "were there a bottle or two of his own last year's wine growing at Waltham-"stow, than which, the whole company said, they never drank better foreign "wine in their lives."

" and will do it upon the 380,000*l.*, which will come " to be paid the sooner; there being no delight in " lending money now, to be paid by the king two " years hence.—Captain Cocke assures me, that " there have been high words between the Duke of " York and Sir W. Coventry, for his being so high " against the chancellor (Clarendon); so as the Duke " of York would not sign some papers that he brought, " saying, that he could not endure the sight of him; " and that Sir W. Coventry answered. ' That what ' he did was in obedience to the king's commands; ' and that he did not think any man fit to serve a ' prince, that did not know how to retire, and live a ' country life.'

" 31*st.*—At the office all the morning; where, by " Sir W. Penn, I do hear that the seal was fetched " away to the king yesterday, from the chancellor, by " Secretary Morrice; which put me into a great " horror. In the evening, Mr Ball, of the excise " office, tells me, that the seal is delivered to Sir " Orlando Bridgeman; the man of the whole nation " that is the best spoken of, and will please most " people; and therefore I am mighty glad of it. He " was then at my Lord Arlington's, whither I went, " expecting to see him come out; but staid so long, " *and Sir W. Coventry coming there, whom I had not* " *a mind should see me there idle upon a post-night,* " I went home without seeing him."

" *Sept.* 2*d.*—With Sir J. Minnes to St James's, " where we had much business before the Duke of " York, and observed all things to be very kind

" between the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry;
" which did mightily joy me. When we had done,
" Sir W. Coventry called me down with him to his
" chamber, and there told me, that he is leaving the
" Duke of York's service; which I was amazed at.
" But he tells me, that it is not with the least un-
" kindness on the Duke of York's side, though he
" expects (I told him he was in the right) it will be
" interpreted otherwise, because done just at this
" time; ' but,' says he, ' I did desire it a good while
' since, and the Duke of York did, with much entreaty,
' grant it; desiring that I would say nothing of it,
' that he might have time and liberty to choose his
' successor, without being importuned for others whom
' he should not like, and that he hath chosen Mr.
' Wren;'[1] which I am glad of, he being a very inge-
" nious man; and so Sir W. Coventry says of him,
" though he knows him little.

" He tells me, the true reason is; that he being a
" man not willing to undertake more business than
" he can go through, and being desirous to have his
" whole time to spend upon the business of the
" treasury, and a little for his own ease, he did
" desire this of the Duke of York. He assures me,
" that the kindness with which he goes away from
" the Duke of York, is one of the greatest joys that
" ever he had in the world. I used some freedom
" with him, telling him how the world hath dis-

[1] " *January 7th*, 1657.—Came Mr. Matthew Wren (since secretary to the " duke, and slain in the Dutch war of 1672), eldest son of the Bishop of Ely. " A most worthy and learned gentleman."—EVELYN.

" coursed of his having offended the Duke of York
" about the late business of the chancellor. He
" does not deny it, but says, that perhaps the Duke
" of York might have some reason for it, he opposing
" him in a thing wherein he was so earnest; but
" tells me, that notwithstanding all that, the Duke
" of York does not now, nor can blame him; for he
" was the man that did propose the removal of the
" chancellor; and that he did persist in it, and at
" this day publicly owns it, and is glad of it. But
" that the Duke of York knows that he did first
" speak of it to the Duke of York before he spoke
" to any mortal creature besides, which was fair deal-
" ing; and the Duke of York was then of the same
" mind with him, and did speak of it to the king;
" though since, for reasons best known to himself,
" he afterwards altered. I did then desire to know,
" what was the great matter that grounded his desire
" of the chancellor's removal? He told me many
" things not fit to be spoken, and yet not any thing
" of his being unfaithful to the king; but, *instar*
" *omnium*, he told me, that while he was so great at
" the council-board, and in the administration of
" matters, there was no room for any body to pro-
" pose any remedy of what was amiss, or to compass
" any thing, though never so good, for the kingdom,
" unless approved by the chancellor; he managing
" all things with that greatness which will now be
" removed, that the king may have the benefit of
" others' advice. He ended all with telling me, that
" he knows that he that serves a prince must expect,

" and be contented, to stand all fortunes, and be " provided to retreat; and that he is most willing to " do whatever the king shall please: and so we " parted, he setting me down out of his coach at " Charing Cross, and desired me to tell Sir W. Penn " what he had told me, of his leaving the Duke of " York's service, that his friends might not be the " last that know of it. I to Sir W. Batten and Sir " W. Penn, and there discoursed of Sir W. Coventry " leaving the Duke of York, and Mr. Wren's succeed- " ing him. They told me both, seriously, that they " had long cut me out for secretary to the Duke of " York, if ever Sir W. Coventry left him; which, " agreeing with what I have heard from other hands " heretofore, do make me not only think that some- " thing of that kind hath been thought on, but do " comfort me to see that the world hath such an " esteem of my qualities, as to think me fit for any " such thing; though I am glad, with all my heart, " that I am not so."

" 11*th.*—Come to dine with me," says Pepys, " Sir W. Batten and his lady, and Mr. Griffith, their " ward, and Sir W. Penn and his lady, and Mrs. " Lowther (their daughter), and Sir John Chichly[1] " in their company, and Mrs. Turner. Here I had " an extraordinary good and handsome dinner for " them, better than any of them deserve or under-

[1] Captain Chicheley, R.N. (afterwards Sir John Chicheley) commanded the *Antelope*, of 40 guns, in the Duke of York's squadron, in the victory of the 3d June, 1665, as will be seen above, in the list of the fleet of that year. For the very honourable career of that gallant officer, of whom no account is given in the notes to the Diary, see CHARNOCK's *Biographia Navalis*, vol. i. p. 84.

" stand, saving Sir John Chichly and Mrs. Turner." Pepys has given us one of his bills of fare: " *January* " *26th*, 1660.—My wife had got ready a very fine " dinner; viz. a dish of marrow-bones; a leg of " mutton; a loin of veal; a dish of fowl (three pul- " lets and a dozen of larks, all in a dish); a great " tart; a neat's tongue; a dish of anchovies; a dish " of prawns, and cheese." This was, certainly, a very intelligible dinner.

" *October 5th.*—Up, and to the office, and there " all the morning; none but my Lord Anglesey and " myself: but much surprised with the news of the " death of Sir William Batten, who died this morn- " ing, having been but two days sick. Sir William " Penn and I did dispatch a letter to Sir William " Coventry, to recommend Colonel Middleton,[1] who " we think a most honest and understanding man, " and fit for that place. Sir George Carteret did " also come, and walked with me in the garden; " and concluded, not to concern, or have any advice " made to, Sir William Coventry in behalf of my " Lord Sandwich's business: so I do rest satisfied, " though I do think them all mad, that they will " judge Sir William Coventry an enemy, when he is " indeed no such man to any body, but is severe and " just, as he ought to be, where he sees things ill " done."

" *12th.*—At home: we find that Sir W. Batten's " body was to-day carried from hence, with a hun-

[1] He was appointed to succeed Sir W. Batten.

" dred or two coaches, to Walthamstow, and there " buried. Anon, comes Sir W. Penn from the burial, " and he says, that Lady Batten and her children-" in-law are all broke in pieces, and that there is but " 800*l.* found in the world of money; and is in great " doubt what we shall do towards doing ourselves " right with them, about the prize-money." There is no memorial of Sir W. Batten in the church of Walthamstow, though there is one of his son; but his burial is duly registered.[1]

Thus terminated the life of this old admiral, to whose friendship, when vice-admiral of England, as appears in the first part of these Memorials, and not to that of Cromwell, Sir William Penn eminently owed his early advances in the naval service. Sincerely and zealously attached to the true cause of king and parliament; to prerogative and privilege duly apportioned and adjusted; and equally loyal to both those great interests; his name has, by natural consequence, experienced the oblivion of the cavaliers, though his life experienced the remembrance and regard of his sovereign, who was no cavalier. The rescuing his name from that oblivion into which it was almost totally sunk, and the restoring it to its rightful station in the annals of our naval history, is

[1] I find no portrait of Sir W. Batten; but it would appear, from a jocular remark of the king, that he was short, and corpulent in person:—"*April* 21*st*, " 1666.—I down to walk in the garden and Whitehall," says Pepys, " and " there was the king, who, among others, talked to us a little; and among " other pretty things, he swore merrily, that he believed the ketch that Sir " W. Batten bought last year at Colchester was his own getting, it was so " thick to its length."

one of my recompensing gratifications for the labour of this work.

"14*th.*—To Mr. Wren's; and he told me," says Pepys, "that my business was done about my war-"rant on the *Maybolt* galliot, which I did see; and "*thought it was not so full in reciting my services,* "*as the other was in that of Sir William Penn's.*"[1] Pepys' official self-importance had reduced the notion of service, in his mind, to the achievements of his board-room, in which little empire his ambition was then aiming to render him supreme.

[1] "An quodcunque facit Mæcenas, te quoque, verum est,
Tanto dissimilem, et tanto certare minorem?
Absentis ranæ pullis vituli pede pressis,
Unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat ut ingens
Bellua cognatos eliderit. Illa rogare,
'Quantane? num tantum (sufflans se) magna fuisset?'
'Major dimidio.' 'Num tanto?' Cum magis atque
Se magis inflaret, 'Non si te ruperis,' inquit,
'Par eris.' Hæc à te non multùm abludit imago."—HOR.

"Whate'er Mæcenas does, must thou needs do,
So much unlike, and so unequal too?
A passing ox a frog's young brood had crushed,
Save one, and she elastically rushed
To find her dam, with the sad tidings filled;
'That a big beast her sisters all had killed!'
'How big—as big as this?' the mother cried,
Stretching her leather jerkin with her pride.
'Bigger by far.' 'As this?' The frogling cries,
'Stretch till thou burst, thou'lt not approach its size.'"
Not distant from thy case, *****, the moral lies.

1668.

"*February* 1*st.*—To the office," says Pepys, "till "past two o'clock, where, at the board, some high "words passed between Sir William Penn and I; "begun by me, and yielded to by him; *I being in* "*the right,* in finding fault with him for his neglect "of duty."

Bold under the wing of Sandwich, and relieved from the restraint of Coventry's presence[1] by his retirement from the board, Pepys at this time possessed all the elasticity of what Shakspeare calls a "*swaggering upspring,*" who felt himself comfortably secure of protection. Certainly, Sir W. Penn would not disturb the board by descending to claim, from the petulance of the clerk of the acts, the respect due to seniority, priority, and ancient service; but would abide by his maxim, of "being at peace with all men, so far as in "him lay."

[1] It is observable, that in all Pepys' recorded conversations with Sir William Coventry, he never ventured to speak to him disrespectfully of Sir W. Penn. Of Pepys' many minor impertinences to the latter, with which he so freely indulged himself in the bravery of his concealed *Journal*, I have taken no notice; but have left them, as if they were still under the shelter of that "confidence" with which their promulgator represents him to have destined them for perpetual secrecy. (Pref. to *Diary*, p. viii. 8vo.) The reader must do me the justice to see, and to acknowledge, that I have not travelled aside for matter of censure against Pepys; that whatever hits he has sustained have been received in the parrying his direct assaults, and in the fair defence of my long-departed principal; so that they are wholly to be laid to the account of those who have gratuitously revealed the assaults which he intended, and hoped, would remain ever unknown, but which, being once revealed, must of necessity be duly met, and as duly dealt with.

"18*th.*—Sir W. Coventry and I did look over the "list of the fleet, and found, that we could presently "recollect thirty-seven commanders that have been "killed, in actual service, this war." It is deserving of remark, that of those thirty-seven, only five fell in the action and victory of June 1665.

"*At the Court at Whitehall, the* 21*st of February*, 1667-8.

"By his Majesty, and the Lords of his most Honourable Privy Council;—

"It was ordered, that Sir John Minnes, knight, one of the principal officers of his majesty's navy, and some three or four of the most able and experienced elder brethren of the Trinity House, to be chosen by Sir William Penn, now master of that corporation, do attend the Duke of York, lord high admiral of England, on Sunday the 23d of this instant, at three in the afternoon, in the council chamber at Whitehall.

"RICHARD BROWNE.

"Sir W. Penn is desired to take care that the persons by him chosen have due notice hereof, and fail not to attend.

"RICHARD BROWNE."

"*This order I received ye 22d of February* (67-8), "*past five of the clock afternoon; before ye receipt* "*whereof, I was writing ye order for summoning the* "*brethren, as is here required.* "*W. P.*"

In the spring of this year, the king and duke, being surfeited of land-admirals, were pleased to make choice of Sir William Penn to command in chief the fleet appointed for the summer's expedition. But, his former health and vigour had failed him; and his sense of premature enfeeblement, together with other

causes, made him beseech his majesty to withdraw his gracious intention of placing him in a station which had been stripped of its chief attraction by the recent peace, and was now reduced to the mere languid advantages of inactive rule and high appointments; both of which he was very willing to resign to the ambition and avarice of Prince Rupert, who was earnestly desirous to possess them. The king and duke, who did not admit the validity of his objections on this, as they had done on the former occasion, insisted upon his taking the command; but Monk's jealousy had already sworn, "*that he should never go "out with the fleet again.*"

"20*th.*—This day at court," says Pepys, "I do "hear that Sir W. Penn do command this summer's "fleet; and Mr. Progers, of the bedchamber,[1] as a "secret, told me, that the Prince Rupert is troubled "at it, and several friends of his have been with "him to know the reason of it; so that he do pity "Sir William Penn, whom he hath great kindness for, "that he should, not at any desire of his, be put to "this service, and thereby make the prince his enemy, "and contract more envy from other people."

"24*th.*—This evening I came home from White-"hall with Sir W. Penn, who fell in talk about his "going to sea this year, and the difficulties that arise "to him by it, by giving offence to the prince, and "occasioning envy to him; and many other things "that make it a bad matter, at this time of want

[1] Evelyn's annotator refers to the *Mémoires de Grammont* for further particulars of Mr. Progers, who was much in the king's confidence.

" of money and necessaries, and bad and uneven " counsels at home, for him to go abroad; and did " tell me, how much with the king and Duke of " York he had endeavoured to be excused, desiring " the prince might be satisfied in it, who hath a " mind to go; but he tells me they will not excuse " him, and I believe it, and truly do judge it a piece " of bad fortune to W. Penn."

There was at this time a prevailing and violent party in the house of commons, which was devoted to Monk, consisting chiefly of ultra-cavaliers, among whom Sir Robert Howard took a principal lead; a person whom Evelyn calls an " universal pretender," and " insufferably boasting," and of whom we have the following account:

" Sir Robert Howard, born 1626, was a sixth son of Thomas, Earl of Berkshire. During the civil war he suffered with his family, who adhered to Charles I.; but at the Restoration was made a knight, and chosen for Stockbridge in Hampshire, to serve in the parliament which began in May 1661. He was afterwards made auditor of the exchequer, and was reckoned a creature of Charles II. His obstinacy and pride procured him many enemies, and among them the Duke of Buckingham, who intended to have exposed him under the name of *Bilboa* in the '*Rehearsal;*' but afterwards altered his resolution, and levelled his ridicule at a much greater name, under that of Bayes. He was so extremely positive, and so sure of being in the right upon every subject, that Shadwell the poet, though a man of the same principles, could not help ridiculing him in his comedy of the '*Sullen Lovers,*' under the character of *Sir Positive At-all.* In the same play there is a *Lady Vaine,* a courtesan, which

the wits then understood to be the mistress of Sir Robert, whom he afterwards married. He died September 3d, 1698.[1] He wrote several works, poetical, dramatic, and historical. From his elder brother, William, were descended the earls of Suffolk."

"26*th.*—This afternoon at the play," says Pepys, "Sir Fretchville Hollis spoke to me as a secret and "matter of confidence in me, and friendship to "Sir W. Penn, who is now out of town, that it were "well he were made acquainted that he finds in the "house of commons, which met this day, several "motions made for the calling strictly again upon the "miscarriages, and particularly in the business of the "prizes, and the not prosecuting of the first victory; "only to give an affront to Sir W. Penn, whose going "to sea this year doth give them matter of great "dislike."

"29*th.*—I do hear by several, that Sir W. Penn's "going to sea do dislike the parliament mightily, and "that they have revived the committee of miscar-"riages to prevent it; and that he being the other "day with the Duke of Albemarle, to ask his opinion "touching his going to sea, the duchess overheard "and came in to him, and asked W. Penn, 'How he 'durst have the confidence to offer to go to sea 'again, to the endangering of the nation, *when he 'knew himself such a coward as he was?*' which, if "true, is very severe."

"30*th.*—To Whitehall and Westminster; where "Mr. Wren tells me, that the Duke of York declares

[1] General Biographical Dictionary.

" to go to sea himself this year; and I perceive, that " it is only on this occasion of distaste of the parlia- " ment against W. Penn's going, and to prevent the " prince's; but I think it mighty hot counsel for the " Duke of York, at this time, to go out of the way; " but, Lord! what pass are all our matters come to!"

" *April* 3*d.*—This day, I hear that Prince Rupert " and Holmes do go to sea: and by this there is a " seeming friendship and peace among our great " seamen; but the devil a bit there is any love " among them, or can be."

" 16*th.*—To Westminster Hall, where I hear " William Penn is ordered to be impeached. There " spoke with G. Montagu; and went with him and " Creed to his house, where he told how Sir William " Penn has been severe to Lord Sandwich; but the " Coventrys both labouring to save him, by laying " it on Lord Sandwich; which our friends cry out " upon, but *I am silent*, but believe they did it as the " only way to save him. It could not be carried to " commit him. It is thought the house do cool. " Sir W. Coventry's being for him, provoked Sir R. " Howard, and his party: court all for W. Penn."

" 20*th.*—Meeting Sir William Hooker, the alder- " man, he did cry out mighty high against Sir W. " Penn getting such an estate, and giving 15,000*l.* " with his daughter, which is more by half than ever " he did give; but this the world believes, *and so* " *let them.*" Though Pepys knew the truth, from the confidence which, through his dissimulation, was reposed in him by Sir W. Penn, yet his jealousy would

not suffer him to use his knowledge for the vindication of his friend.[1]

Let us now follow the whole of the proceedings which took place in the house of commons, relative to the impeachment of Sir William Penn, as they were noted down, in abridgement, at the time, by Anchitell Grey, member for the town of Derby.[2]

"Tuesday, April 14th.

"A narrative was brought into the house by Sir Thomas Lee, from the Commissioners of Accounts; and the matter relating to Sir William Penn, as to the embezzling of prize-goods, was debated.

"Sir WILLIAM PENN, denies all charge of embezzling any goods, as to his particular. This being the first time he has heard the charge, desires a few days time to give such an answer as he will abide by.

"Sir ROBERT ATKINS.[3]—The commissioners of accounts have power to hear and determine. What encouragement will these gentlemen have, if we give an appeal from them? Therefore would know, whether it be a charge, or a conviction.

"Sir WILLIAM PENN.—Many, possibly, who have been cashiered by him, or otherwise punished for some misdemeanors, may have given this information; therefore desires

[1] . . . . "Absentem qui rodit amicum;
Qui non defendit, alio culpante; . . .
. . hic niger est: hunc tu, Romane, caveto."—HOR.

"The person who reviles his absent friend,
Or, when reviled, refuses to defend,
Be sure is dark at heart: be it thy care
Of such, O Roman, ever to beware."

[2] See Grey's Debates, vol. i. p. 133, &c.

[3] K.B., and afterwards lord chief justice of the common pleas. Made, by William III., chief baron of the exchequer. He died in 1711, aged 88.

he may have time to give in his answer, which he hopes will be to the satisfaction of the house.

"Sir ROBERT HOWARD.—The thing is not to be trifled with. A gentleman-like memory may forget things done so long since. He would have the narrative of the commissioners read.

"Mr. COVENTRY.[1]—No man's single *aye* or *no*, does condemn or acquit. Hopes that no subject, much less a member of this house, shall be censured without hearing. He was never summoned before the commissioners of accounts, and probably they deferred it for your summons. Let him stand or fall according to his demerits.

"Mr. VAUGHAN.[2]—Captain Jeffreys, without any order, did break bulk. Some of the flag-officers had shares, without the king's warrant. That Penn took more than the proportion allotted to him, is his charge. If he were not a member, you could not hear him, because of the power of the commissioners of accounts; and he not being before them, may be heard before you. It seems he is charged particularly with having received, in value, 2500*l.* before the dividend was made.

"Sir WILLIAM PENN, says he went on board, with Sir William Berkeley, by command of Lord Sandwich; but only to keep persons from ill purposes. He might have been commanded to have sunk her, and must have obeyed; but he neither knew of, nor saw bulk broken. He did sell some goods, but, for his life, knows not how much; but again desires the paper of his charge. Says farther, that no goods were sold, till Lord Sandwich gave them the king's warrant.

"Sir ROBERT HOWARD.—A superior officer cannot command things not relating to the war. As to the receiving

[1] Henry, third son of the lord keeper (and brother of Sir W. Coventry), successively ambassador to Sweden, plenipotentiary to France, secretary of state. From his eldest brother, Thomas, is descended the present Earl of Coventry.

[2] Afterwards chief justice of the common pleas.

stolen goods, &c., he confesses some part of this charge; and moves to have him withdraw.

"Mr. COVENTRY, would not have half his trial here, and half before the commissioners of accounts. This, which the commissioners have sent you, is but a *Narrative*, and the member as yet not heard, nor who swears against him. This may be a combination; but pray let his trial be one way or the other. For, command he must obey; though not for a rape, yet for that which would be a murder at law. All discipline of war would be destroyed, if commands of superior officers must be disputed. He hopes that breaking bulk is not *malum in se*. He obeyed his command. Let him have his trial somewhere.

"Mr. SEYMOUR, *Speaker*.[1]—The method of proceedings in this house is, for a member, in his place, to answer to his charge, and then withdraw.

"Mr. WALLER.—The commissioners have power to make an inquest, or determine at their choice. The question is now before us, whether we shall make a charge upon this *Narrative*.

[After Sir William Penn had withdrawn.]

"Sir THOMAS CLARGES.[2]—This breaking of bulk is the most arrogant act that ever was done. He made himself *particeps imperii*, and took away the means from the king of rewarding those who had served him. King James gave Lord Middlesex 20,000*l*., the remainder of the money for Queen Anne's[3] funeral; to strengthen which grant he gives a privy-seal, but it was judged to be void in the exchequer. Would have a bill brought in, to void all privy-seals of this nature.

[1] "Of the elder branch of the Seymour family, and ancestor of the present "dukes of Somerset. The first speaker of the house of commons that was not "bred to the law. He knew the house, and every one in it, so well, that by "looking about he could tell the fate of any question."—BURNET.

[2] "Brother of the Duchess of Albemarle. He valued himself on his op- "posing the court."—BURNET.

[3] His late consort, the Princess Anne of Denmark.

"Mr. Boscawen.[1]—His going abroad, could not be barely for the end of assisting Sir William Berkeley to execute the warrant; he was a man of remarkable command, and needed it not. He denies not, that they were sold before the warrant; but he, upon private intimation from Lord Sandwich, breaks bulk. The poor soldiers and seamen want pay, and the officers grow fat.

"Mr. Vaughan.—Suppose a member should commit felony, would you dismember him before conviction? If he be clear upon trial, you lose a member. If a member has a just privilege to all things, unless capital, and breach of the peace, will you take it away, by putting him to answer before the commissioners? He would have a day given him, to put in his answer. He is a part of you, and you cannot deny him a day if you will hear him at all.

"[He was allowed till Thursday to prepare his answer.]"

"Thursday, April 16.

"*Sir William Penn's answer, in his place, to the charge of embezzling prize-goods.*

"Sir William Berkeley commanded[2] him on board, where he was not above a quarter of an hour, and did not break bulk. The captain that informs, was twelve months in the Indies; and he wonders how he could give evidence to the commissioners of accounts. He denies not the sale of goods to the value of 850*l.*; other goods he sold, but they were Sir William Berkeley's.

"[He withdrew of his own accord.]

"A letter to the Speaker from the commissioners of accounts, to rectify a mistake; Sir William Penn being charged with two bales of silk, and one of raw silk, to the value of 400*l.*; and 800*l.* he sold for Sir William

[1] Member for Truro.

[2] There is some error here, for Sir W. Berkeley was Penn's vice-admiral, and under his command; it must mean, that Berkeley brought the Earl of Sandwich's commands.

Berkeley, and charges himself with the remainder. As soon as the hold was ransacked, Sir William Penn's men were commanded off.

"Sir FRETCHVILLE HOLLES[1] said, That Lord Sandwich sent a warrant to Sir William Berkeley to take out sixteen bales; eight for Penn, and eight for Berkeley. Four hundred and fifty rubies were sold by the Earl of Sandwich's order. (Lord Brereton told me, that the commissioners had information that 17,000 ounces of pearl were at the same time taken.) Penn acknowledges the receipt of 1300*l.* in value.

"Mr. WELD informs the house, That one Gory informed him, that Sir William Penn was the *first man that gave advice to Lord Sandwich to break bulk.*

"Sir NICHOLAS CAREW informs, That Sir Roger Cuttance deposed the same, to the commissioners of accounts.

"Mr. COVENTRY, thinks us not ripe to give any judgment in the business. The order came from Lord Sandwich, and until he comes home[2] you can neither acquit nor condemn; things must be done *justè*, as well as *justum*.

"Sir THOMAS LEE.[3]—The bulk was broken, and distribution made, before any order; so that Lord Sandwich's orders for what was done are nothing in the case. Common fame has been a ground for an accusation in parliament, but in this case there is much more.

"Mr. SECRETARY MORRICE.[4]—They made so much haste

[1] For some account of this gallant naval officer, see *note* to Pepys' *Diary*, June 10, 1667.

[2] Sandwich was then absent, on an embassy to Spain and Portugal.

[3] Of Hartwell, Bucks. "There are two or three that are professed enemies "to us, and every body else," says Pepys; "among others, Sir T. Littleton, "Sir Thomas Lee, Mr. Wiles, (the coxcomb whom I saw heretofore at the "cock-fighting), and some others." 5th March, 1668.

[4] "Raised by the Duke of Albemarle. His merit, had been his having "transacted all that had been between the king and the general, which was "thought to be much more than it was; and the inducement that brought him "in, made it unfit to remove him, lest it might grieve the general, whose friend "and kinsman he was."—CLARENDON.

to pilfer these two ships, that they lost all the rest. We sit here three or four months to raise the king 300,000*l.*, and they in a few days can plunder the king of as much. Camillus, in the Roman story, was banished for converting only two brazen doors to his own use, that were taken in the war. It is no wonder that the sons of Zeruiah were too strong for David, and got pardons and privy-seals for what they had done. Lord Sandwich being absent, must be the common voucher; but, shall we try the accessory before the principal be present? Till Lord Sandwich comes home, would have it only declared an abominable action.

"Sir ROBERT ATKINS.—The law expressly prohibits the breaking of bulk before adjudication. This not broken, but by order of the admiral; not in the heat of fight, but some time after. Sir William Penn hath this that falls luckily out for him; the Earl of Sandwich is absent, and Sir William Berkeley dead. The articles of the navy must not be broken, unless inevitable necessity compelled; as fire, or danger of retaking. If the member withdrawn have a pardon, some extraordinary way must be taken; for, in the common way of justice, he may plead it. You cannot expect so much proof as to convict him, but here is certainly *ground sufficient to impeach him.*

"Mr. BOSCAWEN.—The person was one of the commissioners of the navy, and therefore more especially proper to impeach him; the wants of soldiers and seamen being so well known to him.

"Sir WILLIAM COVENTRY, hopes you will not impeach any member, without probable grounds at least to condemn him. It appears not that Sir William Penn converted one halfpenny-worth of goods to his own use, which were not granted him by the privy-seal afterwards. The law of breaking bulk cannot reach the inferior, in a command from the superior. If you permit not this rule, all discipline is at an end.

"Sir ROBERT HOWARD.—If undertakers ever were, this is one, in undertaking for a person so charged. If you lay down common fame not to be a ground of impeachment, common fame will impeach you. Should an admiral command a person to be apprehended, and also to pick his pocket, is this command to be obeyed? to bring a woman, and vitiate her by the way? A man may be commanded to sink a ship, but not to rob the king. You have inducements to believe all this; and remember yourselves, that lately, in a less matter than this, you came to an impeachment; and if this man be not impeached, I could wish Lord Clarendon never had been. The inducements stand fair for an impeachment to the rest, as well as him that advised it, which is plainly proved. This member was the man that pursued the Hollander, when they offered themselves as a sacrifice to any body that would be conqueror; this bait came in the way, and this worthy member, with the rest, minded his business, which was to plunder. The privy-seals might be an argument for the king not to inquire into it, but, I hope, not for you.

"Mr. PRYNNE[1] moves, to have all the flag-officers impeached that advised the business of breaking bulk.

"Mr. COVENTRY, would have the rest of the officers impeached. The same reason for their flight as for Penn's.

"[A committee was appointed to draw up an impeachment against him, and to search into precedents in relation to the suspension of members from sitting while they are under impeachment.]"

"Tuesday, April 21.

"*Debate on Sir William Penn's Impeachment, reported by Sir Robert Howard.*

"Mr. VAUGHAN, would not have the Earl of Sand-

[1] The celebrated barrister pilloried with Burton and Bastwick, by sentence of the Star Chamber, in 1638.

wich concluded in the impeachment, without hearing him first.

" Sir ROBERT HOWARD.—It may possibly be, that Sir William Penn did conspire with Lord Sandwich, and Lord Sandwich not with him.

" The SPEAKER.—The word *conspiracy*, is a word of art, that has the most rigid doctrine attending it imaginable.

" Sir ROBERT HOWARD again.—That Penn did maliciously *procure and advise this to Lord Sandwich.*

" Mr. WALLER.[1]—' Conspiracy' is without effect, but this was effective.

" This article was amended thus: ' Did conspire with other persons.'

" The second article was thus amended: ' To the value of 115,000*l.*, with jewels, and other things of an unknown value.'

" [On the question, Whether Sir William Penn should be suspended from sitting in the house?]

" Mr. PRYNNE.—A member that killed his fellow-knight, was not expelled the house until judgment was given. Degradation, is never till conviction and judgment given.

" Sir THOMAS MERES.[2]—For words or actions in the house, many have been suspended.

" Mr. SOLICITOR FINCH,[3] would not have us prejudge him before another judication. Precedents depend upon times and circumstances. If we once vote him out, and he is innocent, we cannot vote him in again. Impeachment only, is a great censure; but to impeach and imprison too, far greater.

" Mr. VAUGHAN.—We cannot warrant turning him out of the house, by any precedent; but suspension is no part of

[1] The celebrated poet.

[2] Member for Lincoln. A good speaker, by Pepys' Report, 3d Jan. 1666-7.

[3] Successively attorney-general, lord keeper, lord chancellor, and Earl of Nottingham. He died in 1682.

sentence; and when you have resolved an impeachment, the member must withdraw, and be suspended, because he must not be a party in the debate; every day affording matter probably to the impeachment. Sir Giles Mompasson (18 *Jac.*) confessed the fact, (about the monopoly), and so was expelled the house; but that is not the case of Penn.

"Mr. WALLER.—One Stubbs was impeached in Queen Elizabeth's time, who wrote a book against her; and 'that 'he ought to lose his hand,' was part of the message from us to the lords; but the lords would not accept it, because it was irregular that we should undertake to judge, that are but accusers. He would have him only suspended the house.

"[He was suspended from sitting, and the committee was ordered to search precedents touching the suspension or expulsion of members under impeachment.]"

"Friday, April 24.

"*Debate, Whether Sir William Penn should be disprivileged, in order to capacitate him for his trial in the house of lords?*

"Mr. VAUGHAN.—Privilege for a member, is because his attendance is supposed here. In time of prorogation, any member of yours may be proceeded against in any court, and his privilege is then naturally suspended. You have actually suspended Penn; and he being no attendant here, his privilege is suspended with his person. It depends merely upon point of reason, and not of precedent; so the labour of searching them may be spared.

"[The impeachment was ordered to be carried up to the house of lords, and delivered, at a conference, by Sir Robert Howard.]"

"24*th.*—I did hear the Duke of York," says Pepys, "tell how Sir W. Penn's impeachment was "brought into the house of lords to-day; and he

" spoke with great kindness of him, and that the " lords would not commit him till they could find " precedent for it, and did incline to favour him."

" 27*th.*—To Westminster Hall, and up to the " lords' house, and there saw Sir W. Penn go into " the house of lords, where his impeachment was " read to him, and he used mighty civilly, the Duke " of York being there; and two days hence, at his " desire, he is to bring in his answer, and a day then " to be appointed for his being heard with counsel. " Thence down into the Hall, and do hear that to- " morrow is appointed, upon a motion of Friday last, " to discourse the business of my Lord Sandwich, " moved by Sir R. Howard, that he should be sent " for home."[1]

" 29*th.*—To Whitehall, and there do hear how " Sir W. Penn hath delivered in his answer, and the " lords have sent it down to the commons, but they " have not yet read it, nor taken notice of it; so as " I believe they will, by design, defer it till they rise, " *that so he, by lying under an impeachment, may be* " *prevented in his going to sea; which will vex him,* " *and trouble the Duke of York.*"

[1] " 28*th April.*—Major-General Egerton presented a petition from Sir " Robert Howard's lady, Lady Honoria. He opened it thus: ' That she was ' ready to starve, and fled to the house for relief; her husband would allow her ' nothing, though she was worth to him 40,000*l.* He pleading his privilege, ' she was without remedy.' "—GREY'S *Debates*, vol. i. p. 147.

" HOUSE OF LORDS.

" *Impeachment of Sir William Penn.*[1]

" Die Veneris, 24° Aprilis, 1668.

" A message was brought from the house of commons, by Sir Robert Howard, knight, and others: That he was commanded by the house of commons to desire a conference, touching articles of impeachment against Sir William Penn.

" The answer returned was: That the lords have considered of their message, and agree to give a conference, as is desired; and do appoint the same to be presently, in the Painted Chamber.

" Certain lords were appointed to report this conference with the house of commons. Then the house was adjourned during pleasure, and the lords went to the conference: which being ended, the house was resumed. And the lord chamberlain, the Earl of Anglesey, and the other lords appointed, reported the effect of the aforesaid conference; which was managed by Sir Robert Howard, who acquainted their lordships with the occasion of this conference, which would shew itself in the mention of the crime. The accident was in September, 1665, when there was an offer of the greatest happiness to this kingdom, if we had had courage or wisdom to make use of it: but a bribe was interposed by fortune; two rich ships, the *Golden Phœnix* and the *Slothany*, belonging to the Dutch East India Company. This stopped the victory; and Sir William Penn looked upon something better, as he counted, than danger, the plunder of the said two ships, of which a great part was distributed to him.

" The pretence of excuse was, that he had the command of a superior officer (the Earl of Sandwich) for what he did; and something there was of this: but this should not make

[1] Lords' Journals, vol. xii. p. 232, &c.

one forget his allegiance to his prince, and good of his country; if any officer would attempt a fact so contrary to his duty, and the laws of the land, even an act of this parliament. And after he had seized the goods, he sold them, and (which shewed the unjustifiableness of the action in the opinion of both buyer and seller) was fain to warrant the sale; yet all was done with this caution, that the sale should be good, if the king should allow it. And afterwards, Sir W. Penn *addressed himself to the king*, for an order of gift of those goods he had sold and disposed of before; which was obtained. The goods consisted of divers bales of silk, nutmegs, and rich spices. First he plundered, and then cheated the king; for the king granted, on *his* and others' application, a distribution after they had distributed the goods.

"The house of commons think such corruptions and maladministrations of those men have drawn on the miseries and necessities of our nation; and produced but an inglorious success at best, after the vast expense of the kingdom in so just and hopeful a war.

"He said; This shews, the impartial justice of the house of commons stops no where, that they spare not their own members, but proceed against them in chief.

"Then Sir Robert Howard read the articles against Sir William Penn; and after, he said, he had forgotten one thing he intended to say, which the close of the articles reminded him of: That if many such conspiracies should escape unpunished, it may be more powerful to destroy the king and kingdom, than all counsels and assistances to preserve them."

"This report being ended, the articles were read, as followeth:

"Articles of Impeachment, by the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, in the name of themselves and all the Commons of England, against Sir William

Penn, knight, one of the now Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy, for several high crimes and misdemeanours committed by him.

" 1. First, Whereas, in or about the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1665, the *Golden Phœnix* and the *Slothany*, two ships belonging to the subjects of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, were taken at sea, as prize, during the late war, by his majesty's fleet then under the command of the Earl of Sandwich, in which said fleet the said Sir William Penn was the vice-admiral and commander-in-chief under the said earl, in the actual pay and service of his majesty; he, the said Sir William Penn, did, contrary to his allegiance, duty, commission, and the articles of war established by an act of this present parliament, made in the thirteenth year of his majesty's reign that now is, intituled, 'An Act for the establishing Articles and Orders for the regu-'lating and better government of his majesty's navies, ships 'of war, and forces by sea, and other good laws of the land,' for his singular lucre, and with intent to share the same, conspire and advise with several persons, to open the holds of the said ships, divers and sundry times, before judgment thereof first passed the Admiralty Court, and from thence to take out and embezzle great quantities of rich goods, whereby his majesty was defrauded to the value of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, or thereabouts, besides great quantities of jewels and other rich commodities, of which no certain estimate can be made.

" 2. Secondly, That the said Sir William Penn, in pursuance of the said conspiracy, did, on or about the 14th day of the said month of September, repair on board the said prize-ship, the *Slothany*, in the company of Sir William Berkeley, then commander of his majesty's ship the *Swiftsure*, and vice-admiral to the white squadron, commanded by the said Sir William Penn, and did then and there give order

and command unto Captain Robert Worden, unto whose charge the said ship, the *Slothany*, was then committed, to follow such directions as he should receive from the said Sir William Berkeley; who immediately thereupon caused the hatchways of the said ship to be broke open, and took out of the said ship several bales of silk, mace, and other goods to a great value, and carried them away; and afterwards, at several other times, caused the hatchways of the said ship to be broken open, after they were closed and sealed up; at every of which times he took and carried away great quantities of rich goods, he, the said Sir W. Penn, having sent several men on board the said ship, the *Slothany*, to assist the said Sir William Berkeley therein.

"3. Thirdly, He, the said Sir William Penn, got a considerable part of the said goods into his possession, and converted them to his own use; and, on or about the latter end of the said month of September, or the beginning of October then following, did sell divers parcels of the said goods, and further warranted the sale thereof.

"4. Fourthly, The better to colour the said fraud and embezzlement, orders were obtained from the said Earl of Sandwich, bearing date the 15th and 21st of September, 1665, for the taking and distributing of some part of the said goods among several officers, whereof the said Sir William Penn was one, and had a great proportion thereof allotted to him, submitted, as was pretended, to his majesty's further pleasure; although he, the said Sir W. Penn, very well knew that the said orders of him the said Earl of Sandwich were void, and contrary to the commission of the said earl, the articles of war, and the law of this land. And afterwards, a warrant, dated the 17th of October, 1665, was unduly procured from his majesty for distributing the said goods, whereas in truth he the said Sir W. Penn had, before the said warrant of his majesty, possessed himself of divers of the said goods, and sold and warranted the same, as in the

third article is expressed; and further, did take, sell, and dispose of, a far greater quantity of goods than was contained either in the orders of the said Earl of Sandwich or his majesty's warrant, to the value of two thousand eighty-five pounds, or thereabouts.

"All and every which proceedings are contrary to the articles of war above mentioned, and to the laws of the land, and of dangerous consequence and example if unredressed.

"And the said commons, by protestation, saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting, at any time hereafter, any other accusation or impeachment against the said Sir William Penn, and also of replying to the answer of the said articles, or any of them; or of offering proofs of the premises, or any other impeachment or accusation that shall be exhibited by them, as the case (according to the course of parliaments) shall require; do pray, that the said Sir William Penn may be called to answer the said several crimes and misdemeanours, and receive such condign punishment as the same shall deserve; and that such further proceedings may be, upon every one of them, had and used against him as is agreeable to law and justice."

"Upon this, the lords made the following order:

"Whereas, &c.: Ordered, by the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, that the said Sir William Penn be, and is hereby, required to appear at the bar of this house, on Monday the 27th day of this instant April, at ten of the clock in the forenoon, to hear the said articles of impeachment against him read; and that he, the said Sir William Penn, may be heard, what he shall say for himself thereupon."

"Die Lunæ, 27° die Aprilis.

"The house gave order, that Sir William Penn should be brought to the bar; which accordingly was done, by the

gentleman usher of the black rod, he kneeling until the lord keeper bid him stand up. And then his lordship told him, 'He was impeached by the commons of England assembled in parliament, in the name of themselves and of all the commons of England, for several high crimes and misdemeanours committed by him, which charge should be read unto him.'

"Then the articles against him were read, and the lord keeper asked him, 'What he said to them?'

"He said, 'He looked upon himself as a very unhappy man, to be brought up hither upon this account; but it was his comfort, that he should have such honourable judges. He desired a short day might be given him, to put in his answer in writing; and that counsel might be assigned him.'

"Upon this, Sir W. Penn withdrew.

"And the house, taking into consideration what he desired, directed he should have a copy of his charge, and that he should put in his answer, in writing, on Wednesday morning next.

"He being called in again, the lord keeper told him: 'The lords have appointed him to have a copy of his charge, and Wednesday morning next to be the time for him to put in his answer in writing; and asked him what counsel he desired to have?'

"Whereupon he named, Sir William Scroggs, Mr. Winnington, Mr. Jones, Mr. Offley, Sir Anthony Morgan, and Sir Walter Walker, to be his counsel in this business. Which this house ordered accordingly."

"Die Mercurii, 29° die Aprilis.

"This day Sir William Penn, according to the order of this house the 27th instant, being appointed to put in his answer to the impeachment of the house of commons against him, was brought to the bar by the gentleman usher; and having kneeled until the lord keeper commanded him to

stand up, he humbly presented his said answer; which was read as followeth:

"The humble Answer of Sir William Penn, knight, defendant, to the Articles of Impeachment exhibited against him by the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, in the name of themselves and of all the Commons of England, for several high crimes and misdemeanours committed by him:

"The said defendant, (by protestation, saving to himself all advantages of exceptions that may be taken to the manifold uncertainties and insufficiencies of the said articles of impeachment,) for answer to so much thereof as he, this defendant, is advised is any way material for him to make answer to:

"1. To the first article of the said impeachment (doth say), That he, this defendant, is not guilty of any crime objected against him in the said first article.

"2. To the second article of the said impeachment, he, this defendant, saith: That on or about the 14th of the said month of September, this defendant did go on board the said *Slothany*, in company of the said Sir William Berkeley, being required so to do by the said Earl of Sandwich; but doth deny that he did then, or at any other time, go on board the said *Slothany* in pursuance of the said conspiracy in the said first article of the said impeachment mentioned; or that he, this defendant, did command the said Captain Worden to give way to, or permit, the said Sir W. Berkeley to take away any of the said goods; or that this defendant sent any men on board the said *Slothany*, to assist the said Sir W. Berkeley in breaking open the hatchways of the said ship, and taking out of the said ship and carrying away any bales of silk, mace, or other goods whatever.

"3. To the third article of the said impeachment, this defendant doth answer and say: That true it is, that nineteen

bales and one half of silk, ten bales of cinnamon, twelve cernes of mace, two bags of nutmegs, eight bags of pepper, and one puncheon of cloves, did, some time after the same were taken out of the said *Phœnix*, or the said *Slothany*, by way of distribution among the flag-officers, come into the hands and possession of him this defendant, and were by him, as his share and proportion, sold and converted by him this defendant to his own use, by virtue of the said order of the said Earl of Sandwich, bearing date the 15th and 21st of September, 1665, in the fourth article of the said impeachment mentioned; and by virtue of his majesty's said warrant, dated the 17th of October, 1665, in the said fourth article likewise mentioned; and by virtue of his majesty's letters of privy seal, bearing date the 26th day of January, in the seventeenth year of his majesty's reign: But this defendant doth deny that he had or sold, to his own use, any other goods than those above mentioned; or that the said goods, so by him sold, were taken out of the said *Phœnix*, or the said *Slothany*, by him this defendant, or any other person or persons by his appointment or procurement.

"4. To the fourth article of the said impeachment, this defendant answers: That the said orders of the Earl of Sandwich, in the said fourth article of the said impeachment mentioned, were not obtained from the said earl by this defendant, or by the procurement of this defendant, to colour any fraud or embezzlement done or committed by him this defendant, or for any purpose whatsoever; and this defendant doth deny, that his majesty's warrant, in the said fourth article of the said impeachment mentioned, was by him this defendant, or by any other person by his direction, procured from his majesty. And this defendant doth further deny, that he, or any other by his appointment, did take the said four bales, or eight suckles, out of the said *Phœnix* or said *Slothany*, or that he did sell or dispose of the same, or any part thereof, to his own use, benefit, or advantage. And this defendant doth

deny, that he did take, sell, or dispose of, any greater quantity of goods than was contained either in the said order of the said Earl of Sandwich, or his majesty's said warrant in the said fourth article mentioned, other than is in this defendant's answer to the fourth article of the impeachment expressed. Without that, that any other matter, thing or things, article or allegation, in the said articles of impeachment contained, material or effectual in the law to be answered unto by this defendant, and not here in this his answer sufficiently answered to, confessed and avoided, denied, or traversed, is true.

"All which matters he this defendant is ready to prove, as this high and honourable court shall award.

"Wm. Penn."

"Then the lord keeper asked Sir Wm. Penn, 'Whether he owned this to be his answer?' And he confessed and owned this to be his answer.

"It is ordered, That a copy of this answer of Sir William Penn be sent to the house of commons.

"A message was sent to the house of commons, by Sir John Cool and Sir Walter Littleton: to let them know, that Sir William Penn hath this day put in his answer in writing to their impeachment against him; a copy whereof the lords have sent to the house of commons."

In addition to the preceding answer, I shall subjoin the two following rough notes, or heads, of answers, which I find among Sir W. Penn's papers; the second of which, is in his own handwriting.

"*Slothany*, the East India ship.

Note 1.

"1st Objection.

"That Sir William Penn went aboard the *Slothany* with

Sir William Berkeley, and told the commander he must follow his orders.

"Answer.

"That the Earl of Sandwich had given Sir William Berkeley commission, and commanded Sir William Penn to go aboard with him, to assist in preventing embezzlement. That he staid not a quarter of an hour. No hatch open whilst aboard. Remembers not, he told the commander of the *Slothany;* if he had, it had been only telling him the effects of the commission, but had not thereby given him any power. Wonders the commander of the *Slothany* made oath, when he hath been absent for one year."

"2d Objection.

"That he sold more than allotted.

"Answer.

"Denies the sale of any of the said goods, except four bales of silk and eight suckles of mace, which were Sir William Berkeley's, and brought aboard by himself; and desired him to sell them for him. That he so declared to the buyers of the same; and denies that he sold Captain Cox or Sir Thomas Tiddiman any goods, as is also objected.

"Offers to the house, that he manned only a man-of-war out of his division; the merchantmen out of others. Prays the circumstance of the sale of the goods may be considered: it was done publicly, obliging the parties sold to, to enter them at the custom-house, and bring certificates thereof; and then he gave them certificates, to the end all things might appear openly. All which, if the thing had been dishonest, needed not have been done, for they could have been sold privately."

Note 2.

"Acknowledge four bales of silk and eight of mace, left by Sir William Berkeley (on board a ketch, or her that attended the *Royal Charles,* wherein was my dividend), he being bound for Portsmouth.

" The sum they were sold for was 850*l.*, or thereabouts.

" Sir William received at once 550 guineas; at another time, before he sailed, 225. The account was cleared before he went to sea last.

" The money, or so much of it as the goods were sold for which were not his own, was, by my consent, distributed to the several commanders, officers, and seamen, who, he protested, deserved much more for their faithful and painful assisting of him in the business, and watching with boats about the ship, as well as in her; by which means great embezzlements were prevented. Amongst Sir William's (Berkeley's) papers there may be a list of the names (who were, I think, near one hundred) to whom the money was distributed. These goods, that were thus disposed, were left after the last dividend; whether purposely, or not, I cannot say. The cause of the second opening of the hold, I think, was, that silk enough could not be found on board the *Phœnix*.

" Those to whom I sold these goods, can certify I sold them not as my own goods; but told them they were another's, and, I think, whose they were."

" 1st. When three prizes were to be manned by my squadron, this East Indiaman, being taken by my second, whom I sent to chase and take her, I gave into the possession of Sir William Berkeley, well knowing his faithfulness and diligence; the other, another merchant-ship, unto the care of Sir Joseph Jordan, my rear-admiral; the other, which was a man-of-war, I manned myself, and this only to avoid the having to do with prize-goods.

" 2. I never thought of making profit out of the East India ships, or did ask for any.

" 3. When I had it, how easily might I have sent it to some considerable place in, or out of, England; having the advantage of several vessels.

" 4. I charged all that bought goods of me, to enter them

in the custom-house; nay, carried most there, and made them to be entered.

"5. I gave certificates, under my hand, of the goods I sold, to every man, a good time after I had received my money.

"The king and duke have a long time since been made acquainted with it, and were graciously pleased to approve of it, (wishing it had been more that had come to my share): and, I hope, so you will also."

Pepys, who felt a strong interest in this transaction, as it affected his patron, shewed his penetration; for, from the instant the party had effected their object, not a word more was uttered, or thought entertained, respecting Sir W. Penn's impeachment; although the chief manager had declared, that it was undertaken in order "to shew the impartial justice of the house "of commons in not sparing one of its own mem-"bers; and to bring down condign punishment upon "a conspiracy that had drawn on the miseries and "necessities of our nation, and was more powerful "to destroy the king and kingdom, than all counsels "and assistances to preserve them;" and although, on the 4th of May following, the committee of impeachment were ordered "to draw up a replication "upon the whole matter of Sir W. Penn's answer, "to be sent up to the house of lords."[1] And when we consider the active and rancorous support it received from Monk's brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Clarges, and from his kinsman, Secretary Morrice, and join to these Monk's declaration, that Sir W. Penn "*should never go out with the fleet again,*" we

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. ix. p. 93.

shall not find it difficult to trace this malignant conspiracy to its source.[1] Why, out of nine flag-officers, all precisely in the same position, they should have singled out Sir W. Penn for impeachment, is now thoroughly manifest; and the result of that measure fully demonstrates, (so little was it governed by any sincere public motive,) that if he had not been designed by the king and lord high admiral to command the fleet in chief, which fired the jealousy of Monk, they would not have put themselves and the two houses to the trouble and interruption of any debate upon his subject.

But it is not sufficient to shew, that the impeachment was dropped as soon as it was effected; it is further necessary to shew, in what it must have issued had it been carried on. The essential point in the charge was, that Sir W. Penn *had instigated* the Earl of Sandwich to appropriate certain proportions of the Dutch cargoes to the several flag-officers of his fleet; and therefore, though formally only an accessory to the act, yet morally and really he was the principal offender. The reader will remember

[1] "Did he use any insolencies? offer at any extravagances? attempt any "exorbitancies? *side with any factions? make any intrigues? cherish any* "*resentments?*" (asked Monk's funeral orator.) The confident prelate might safely propose his questions in the funeral solemnity of Westminster Abbey, and in the presence of the king; they were sure to be followed by the profoundest silence, and silence is interpreted to denote assent: but, if he had proposed them in Palace-Yard, or at Charing-Cross, his questions would have been promptly met by answers very different from those which his triumphing interrogatories were designed to extort. "He was the *favourite* of the parlia- "ment, the *dearling* of both houses," continues the same grateful ecclesiastic; and certainly, the fondness of the lower house, with its preponderance of cavaliers, was amply testified on this occasion.

Pepys' statement: "the Coventrys both labour to "save Penn by laying it on Lord Sandwich; which "our friends cry out upon, and *I am silent.*". That silence of Pepys was pregnant with much meaning; it did not imply a mere neutrality, in holding the scale even between the two parties.[1] Pepys had then, in his desk, a certain document, which he was not called upon to produce, and therefore, in fairness to his absent patron, he let it sleep where it was. But he did not destroy that document; it has survived him, and has passed, with a voluminous mass of his papers, to the Bodleian library at Oxford, from whence the editor of his *Diary* has drawn it forth to light; and I feel thankful to him, for that unintentional service to the cause of justice. I have already given that document in the order of its date; but such is its importance, in the present question, that I shall here repeat it in the order of its application.

"*To Mr. Pepys.*

"MR. PEPYS, October 14, 1665.

"Your letter, of so late a date as the 12th instant, makes me somewhat wonder, that before that time order was not given to clear all that was disposed *by my direction. The king hath confirmed it, and given me order to distribute those very proportions to the flag-officers, so that you are to own the possession of them with confidence;* and if any body have taken security from them upon seizure, remand the security

[1] Had Pepys not "been silent," he has shewn us, in his mental soliloquy, now he must have spoken. "*Dec.* 31*st.*—My lord is very meanly spoken of, "and, indeed, his miscarriage about the prize-goods is not to be excused; to "suffer a company of rogues to go away with *ten times as much as himself*, and "the blame of all to be deservedly laid upon him:" that is, 8000*l.* among eight, and 2000*l.* to himself.

in my name, and return their answer. *Carry it high;* and own nothing of baseness or dishonour, but rather intimate, that I shall know who have done me indignities. Thank my Lord Brouncker and Sir John Minnes for civilities, and tell them I expect no less in reality, for I have befriended them; and that I shall very ungratefully hear of news of base examinations of *any action of mine.* What is more to be said in this matter is better reserved to a fitter occasion.

"I am your affectionate friend and servant,

"SANDWICH."

This is not the letter of one acting a second part, under the instigation and guidance of another person. But, if he had been so disposed to act, it is very certain that he would not have yielded to any instigation from Penn, but would rather have resented it, to Penn's disadvantage; so great was his jealousy of, and consequent enmity towards, him. At the very time the fleet was entering the river with the prizes, on their return home (the 18th Sept. 1665), not four weeks before the date of the preceding letter to Pepys, Sandwich, on Pepys' coming on board to him at Gravesend, reverted to the departure of the fleet outward-bound, in July, with great animosity towards Penn: "He talked with me," says Pepys, "about Mr. Coventry's dealing with him, in sending "Sir W. Penn away before him, which was not fair "nor kind; but that he hath mastered and cajoled "Sir William Penn, that he hath been able to do "nothing in the fleet, but been obedient to him; "but withal tells me, that he is a man of very mean "parts, and a fellow not to be lived with, so false "and base he is; *which I know well enough to be*

" *true, and did, as I had formerly done, give my lord* " *my knowledge of him.*"[1] He was therefore not likely, immediately on his return home, to be mastered and cajoled by Sir W. Penn, in the matter of the prize-ships.

Clarendon, the friend and panegyrist of Sandwich, gives the following interpretation of that transaction:

" It seems, that when the fleet returned to the harbour, the flag-officers petitioned or moved the Earl of Sandwich, ' in regard of their having continued all the summer upon the seas with great fatigue, and been engaged in many actions of danger, that he would distribute amongst them some reward out of the Indian ships;' which he thought reasonable, and inclined to satisfy them, and writ a letter to the vice-chamberlain to inform the king of it, and, ' that he thought it fit to be done;' to which the vice-chamberlain, having shewed the letter to the king, returned his majesty's approbation. But before the answer came to his hand, he had executed the design, and distributed as much of the coarser goods to the flag-officers as, by estimation, was valued to be *one thousand pounds to each officer*, and took to the value of *two thousand pounds for himself*. The general (Monk), who had nothing like kindness for the Earl of Sandwich (whose service, he thought, had been too much considered and recompensed by the king at his arrival), had notice of it before it came to Oxford; and, according to his usual care (which was afterwards found to proceed from private animosity), sent orders to all the port-towns to seize upon goods which were brought in shallops from the fleet.

[1] " BEAUCLERK.—You, sir, have a friend who deserves to be hanged, for " he speaks behind their backs against those with whom he lives on the best " terms; he certainly deserves to be *kicked*." JOHNSON.—" Sir, we all do " this in some degree: *Veniam petimus damusque vicissim*. To be sure, it " may be done so much that a man may deserve to be kicked."—*Life of S. Johnson*, vol. iv. p. 139. ed. Croker.

The Duke of York, who had been constantly kind to the earl, was offended in the highest degree, and thought himself injured and affronted beyond any precedent. He looked upon his having desired the king's allowance by the vice-chamberlain, as a trick and an aggravation; for he ought to have asked his advice, as his superior officer. 'The other fountain which might produce this presumption, might be avarice,' which was the sole blemish (though it never appeared in any gross instance) that seemed to cloud many noble virtues in that earl, who now became a very pregnant evidence of the irresistible strength and power of envy; which, though it feeds on its own poison, and is naturally more grievous to the person who harbours it than to him that is maligned, yet, when it finds a subject it can effectually work upon, it is more insatiable in revenge than any passion the soul is liable unto."[1]

The object of the distribution of certain proportions of the capture, is thus exposed by Sir William Penn's son, in his *Vindication of his deceased father.* "'Tis not unknown that two such ships were taken, "though it was never known, nor believed, by any in "their wits, that they were worth a fifth part of what "was vulgarly bruited in the world. One of them was "taken by a captain belonging to his squadron they

[1] Continuation, &c. vol. ii. pp. 464–7.

Evelyn, another friend of Sandwich, (27th Nov. 1665), says, on this occasion, "There was no small suspicion of my Lord Sandwich having *permitted* "*divers commanders*, who were at the taking of the East India prizes, to break "bulk and take to themselves jewels, silks, &c.: though I believe some that I "could name filled their pockets, *my Lord Sandwich himself had the least share.*" Evelyn was one of those worthy men who, being conscious in themselves that they always wish to do and think right, never question the impressions which their minds have once received, whether in favour or prejudice of others; and who are thus drawn to justify, and condemn, contrary to reason and to fact. He was, also, a decided cavalier; and Mountagu's ennoblement had recommended him to that party.

" call the Earl of Sandwich,[1] and the other by one
" of my father's. But, that he ever went on board
" either,[2] or that he would suffer her to be manned
" by any of his own ship's company; or that he ever
" took, or caused to be taken, one clove, nutmeg,
" blade of mace, or skain of silk, the common lading
" of the prizes, but by written order from his supe-
" riors, as his share of the dividend (for about sixteen
" months' service at sea, and the expense of a con-
" stant table), I utterly deny, and am persuaded no
" man on earth can ever prove." And here I shall observe, that whatever might be the case of the other flag-officers, Sir Wm. Penn was at this time receiving *no pay;* the accumulated arrears of which, added to the moneys advanced by him at various times for the service of the crown, that is, of the country, left his estate at the time of his death, (two years later), a creditor on the crown to the amount of upwards of 12,000*l.*, which debt was never discharged in money, but was considered to be virtually liquidated, twelve years after, in the province of Pennsylvania, granted to the son in memory of his father's services.

The filial vindicator thus proceeds: " I *affirm*[3]
" upon my very good knowledge (if I may be cre-
" dited), that after all my father's great, many, and
" continual employments in the world, for near thirty
" years past, and his frequent opportunities of enrich-

[1] He here expresses himself in the style of a Quaker, which he was then become.

[2] Sir W. Penn acknowledged that he was on board for a quarter of an hour, to give cautionary orders.

[3] The solemn attestation of a Quaker.

" ing his family, he could never call himself master
" of half that estate which is the private acquisition
" of ordinary merchants. And, if war be allowable
" with Scripture, and the consequence of it, he has
" had many *single hits*, each of which might have
" enriched him more than what he left, had he been
" as forward to *feather his own nest*, as he was heartily
" inclined to acquit his conscience, in the discharge
" of his trust to his country; of which I shall give
" an instance to be attested by many.

" Being admiral in the Straits of the Mediterra-
" nean, about the years 50 and 51, many prizes were
" taken, and some of great value. Amongst the rest
" was one that had five chests of silver and gold,
" amounting to several thousands of pounds; which
" he was so far from embezzling to his own use, or
" admitting of the plea of his captains, (distribute it
" amongst us, and, if ever it be demanded, it shall
" be paid, or we will serve it out), that he wholly
" denied his wife the curiosity of changing of but
" one piece of foreign gold for its equal weight of
" our own. And as in those times there was too
" great a watch over such men in employment, to
" enrich themselves at the cost of the public; so
" must I say, that his whole employment at sea,
" since the king's return, was not above sixteen
" months; and for his other offices, they admitted
" not of perquisites; and I challenge the whole
" world to lay the ignominy of but one bribe to his
" charge; though, to speak modestly, a *thousand*
" *families owe their advancement to his favour.*"

The reader will probably be startled, at seeing this last assertion called, "speaking modestly;" but Lord Clarendon shall explain it, and certify its truth. "All the offices which belonged to the ships, to the "navy, to the yards, to the whole admiralty, (except "the three superior officers, which are not in the "disposal of the admiral), were now void, and to be "supplied by the duke, that is, by Mr. Coventry, "who, with the advice of Sir William Penn, (who "was solely trusted by him in the brokage), con- "ferred them upon those (without observing any "other rule) who would give most money; not con- "sidering any honest seaman who had continued in "the king's service, or suffered long imprisonment "for him." Here, then, the fact is attested by Clarendon, that Sir W. Penn's influence extended to the filling up all offices in the admiralty and navy, excepting those of the three superior officers. The sweeping charge of brokage regards Coventry, and will be found already answered and explained by him, under the dates, 30th October, 1662, and 12th October, 1663, in full contradiction of Clarendon's malignant statement. That which regards the selection of seamen and others, alone concerns Sir W. Penn, and it amounts simply to this; that he gave a preference to those who, by being constantly exercised, were the best fitted for their stations, above such as, having continued nominally in the king's service, or rather no service, were without any practice or experience in the duties of the offices.

Whilst the impeachment of Sir William Penn

was proceeding in the house of commons, another inquiry was also going forward against Rear-Admiral Sir John Harman,[1] and Mr. Brouncker, brother of Lord Brouncker, a gentleman of the Duke of York's bedchamber, on a charge of having slackened sail, and not pursued the Dutch, the night after the victory of the 3d June, 1665. On the 20th of October, of the preceding year, Pepys had said:

"This afternoon comes to me Captain O'Bryan; he tells me, that the Duke of York's slackening sail in the first fight, at the beginning of the war, is brought into question, and Sir W. Penn and Captain Cox are to appear to-morrow about it; and, it is thought, will at last be laid upon Mr. Brouncker's giving orders from the Duke of York (which the duke do not own) to Captain Cox to do it; but it seems they do resent this very highly, and are mad in going through all business where they can lay any fault."

"21*st.*—To Westminster, and up to the lobby, where many commanders of the fleet were, and Captain Cox, and Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, the last of whom hath been in the house, and declared that he heard Brouncker advise and give arguments to Cox, for the safety of the Duke of York's person, to shorten sail, that they might not be in the middle of the enemy in the morning alone; and Cox denying to observe his advice, having received the Duke of York's commands overnight to keep within gun-shot (as they were) of the enemy, Brouncker did go to Harman, and used the same arguments, and told him that he was sure that it would be well pleasing to the king that care should be taken of not endangering the Duke of York; and, after much persuasion, Harman was heard to say, 'Why, if it must be, then lower

[1] See a fair and full account of this brave commander, from the year 1664, in Charnock's *Biog. Nav.* vol. i. pp. 97–102. We have already seen his first appointment to the command of a ship of war, in 1652, vol. i. p. 450.

the top-sail:' and so did shorten sail to the loss, as the parliament will have it, of the greatest victory that ever was, and which would have saved all the expense of blood, and money, and honour, that followed; and this they do resent, so as to put it to the question, Whether Brouncker should not be carried to the Tower; who do confess, that, out of kindness to the Duke of York's safety, he did advise that they should do so, but did not use the Duke of York's name therein; and so it was only his error in advising it, but the greater theirs in taking it contrary to order. At last it ended, that it should be suspended till Harman comes home;[1] and then the parliament-men do tell me that it will fall heavy, and, they think, be fatal to Brouncker or him. Sir W. Penn tells me he was gone to bed, having been all day labouring, (from three in the morning till ten at night), and then not able to stand of the gout; and did give orders for the keeping the sails standing, as they then were, all night. But, which I wonder at, he tells me that he did not know next day that they had shortened sail,[2] nor ever did inquire into it till about ten days ago, that this began to be mentioned; and, indeed, it is charged privately as a fault on the Duke of York, that he did not presently examine the reason of the breach of his orders, and punish it. But Cox tells me, he did finally refuse it; and what prevailed with Harman he knows not, and do think we might have done considerable service on the enemy the next day, if this had not been done.

[1] He was then commanding a squadron in the West Indies.

[2] This shews that Clarendon is in error in the only favourable mention he has made of Sir W. Penn: "Penn," he says, "answered Brunkard honestly, "and told him, 'he durst give no such order, unless he had a mind to be 'hanged, for the duke had himself given positive charge to the contrary.'" It was only, therefore, in the subsequent discussions, during Brouncker's impeachment, that Sir W. Penn could have made that observation. Burnet, on the contrary, wished to implicate him in Brouncker's blame; though the prevailing party in the parliament, with every disposition to do the same, plainly saw that he was totally unconnected with it.

Thus this business ended to-day, having kept them till almost two o'clock; and then I by coach with Sir William Penn as far as St. Clements, talking of this matter, and there set down."

On the return of Sir John Harman, in April of the present year, the house resumed the inquiry.

"17*th April*.—I hear," says Pepys, "that the "house is upon the business of Harman, who, they "say, takes all upon himself."

"18*th*.—Do hear this morning that Harman is "committed by the parliament last night, the day "he came up; which is hard: but he took all upon "himself first, and then, when a witness came in to "say otherwise, he would have retracted, and the "house took it so ill, they would commit him."

"HOUSE OF COMMONS.

"Friday, April 17.[1]

"*The Examination of Sir John Harman, Captain Cox, Mr. Brunkard,*[2] *and others, in relation to the miscarriage of slacking sail, and not pursuing the Dutch fleet in* 1665.

"Sir JOHN HARMAN said, He had no order from the Duke of York for lowering the sails.

"Capt. Cox said, If the duke's ship had come up to the fleet, it had not been in any danger. The Dutch fleet was a mile and a half astern. Signal, they had none but coming to an anchor, and then they fire a gun. He told Mr.

[1] GREY'S *Debates*, vol. i. p. 139.

[2] So careless of the correct orthography of names was that age, that Brouncker's name is uniformly written Brunkard throughout these Debates; and Lord Brouncker's is also written Brunkard, not only in acts of council, but in a king's warrant. Such a misnomer would probably vitiate such an instrument at the present day.

Brunkard he wondered the duke's mind should so soon be altered, having, a little before, given express order to make all the sail they could. The duke was much displeased at the slacking of sail; more might have been done than was, if sail had not been slacked. He did not call Sir John Harman, when he said he would take an hour's rest, nor had he order for it. The *bringing a ship to*, is quite stopping her course; *loosing sail*, is but slower.

"He farther said, that the duke's fleet having the weather gage, there was no danger of falling in with the Dutch.

"Sir JOHN HARMAN again.—That it might have hazarded the duke. The bringing the ship to, was the cause of the miscarriage, and not the lowering of the top-sail only.

"HILL, one of the duke's watermen, said; That Mr. Brunkard gave order from the duke to slack sail, because he would not engage in the night. Harman refused. Mr. Brunkard went down again to the duke, and said, the duke gave order for it.

"Sir JOHN HARMAN.—They made not sail again whilst day. The white squadron was in with the enemy, after sail was loosed.

"Mr. NEALE, one of the duke's pages, said; That the duke sent Mr. Brunkard to see, how near they were to the lights, and that they should make sail; and, what sail they made.

"Sir JOHN HARMAN said; That lowering the topsail, and bringing to, was of Cox's own head.

"Mr. PRICE, the surgeon, said; That twenty of our ships were in sight.

"Capt. COX.—The shortening of sail, was our misfortune.

"Sir JOHN HARMAN. — He had no order from Mr. Brunkard, for slackening sail.

"Mr. PRICE.—Sir John Harman, in some passion, when Mr. Brunkard brought him the pretended order, said; 'If it must be so, it must be so; then lower the topsail.'

" Sir JOHN HARMAN said; Cox could not be commanded by him, unless he would himself.

" Capt. Cox.—Harman said in general, ' Lower the top-sail.' They might as well have engaged the enemy, as the prince's squadron.[1]

" Mr. BRUNKARD, in his defence, said; There is a difference betwixt arguments and orders; arguments he did use, but not the duke's name. Says, he believes that what the waterman speaks, he thinks to be true. Knows nothing of the reputation of the waterman.

" BRUNKARD, replying to Sir JOHN MORTON, for alleging the *great danger the duke was in,* said; The danger was so little, that Morton might have been there himself.

" *Farther information against Mr. Brunkard.*

" One ROBERT SUMPTER says; He heard Mr. Brunkard say to Sir John Harman, that he came with orders from the

[1] Though Prince Rupert commanded the van squadron of the fleet, yet, in the tack in which the British column bore down into the Dutch line, Sandwich was in the van, and Rupert in the rear; nor did Rupert's squadron come into action until the day had been decided by Sandwich's and the duke's squadrons; so that he only came in to pursue the dispersed and flying enemy with an unmaimed fleet. The general correctness of Sandwich's account to Pepys is indisputable: " That though the prince (Rupert) was in the van in the beginning " of the fight for the first pass, yet all the rest of the day my lord was in the " van, and continued so. That, notwithstanding all this noise of the prince, " he had hardly a shot in his side or a man killed, whereas he, above thirty in " his hull, and not one mast whole, or yard. That the most the duke did was " almost out of gun-shot; but that indeed the duke did come up to my lord's " rescue after he had a great while fought with four of them." This could not have been otherwise, with a fleet bearing down in a column extending some miles in length. Sandwich, in the van, as we have seen, broke the enemy's line at one P.M., and it was two o'clock before the duke, in the centre, could reach the enemy, preserving the column. This was the first engagement of fleets the Earl of Sandwich had ever witnessed; and it is evident, from his observation, that he did not thoroughly apprehend the principle of the attack. The fresh state of Rupert's ships in the rear, therefore, gave him an advantage in the pursuit, above the crippled squadrons.

duke, to make no more sail; and Sir John Harman was minded to make more sail, but said he could not disobey the duke's command, though it was against his mind. Sir John Harman was much discontented, and retired into his cabin to take a pipe of tobacco.

"Sir JOHN HARMAN, upon recollection (having been in the lobby, and discoursed with this SUMPTER, his servant, the fumes of his disorder being pretty well abated), said; That Mr. Brunkard used the duke's name, in a commanding way, that he should slack sail.

[Mr. Brunkard was allowed till Tuesday the 21st to make his answer; and Sir John Harman, for prevaricating in his evidence, was ordered into custody.]

"Tuesday, April 21st.

[Debate on the miscarriage in slacking sail resumed. Sir John Harman being called in, delivered his further answer and testimony in writing.]

"Mr. WALLER.—If you give Sir William Penn, a man of a whole brain, leave to give in a paper, it is much more reasonable for Sir John Harman, a man that hath the effects of a late sickness upon him.

"Sir JOHN HARMAN said, at the bar, That his sickness had prejudiced both his memory and his hearing; and being not accustomed to speak in such an assembly, was not fully satisfied in his memory and conscience when first examined; but now says, that Mr. Brunkard came with a command from the duke to slack sail.

"[The paper was then read by the clerk's assistant, Mr. Marsh, at the bar; the substance whereof was, his great sorrow and trouble on offending the house; and that Mr. Brunkard came with the aforesaid command; which answer he would abide by.]

"Mr. WALLER.—Harman before did seem *insanire cum ratione*, for the duke's safety to slack sail.

"[Interrogatories to Sir John Harman, to which he answered.]

"It was common for the duke to send orders by his servant, especially to Captain Cox. He was not upon the deck when the duke came up the morning after. No persons, he protests, were with him (in the presence of God) about this business, since he came home.

"Sir ROBERT BROOKE and SIR ROBERT CARR, said; That his royal highness did tell them, when sent from the house, that Sir John Harman was not to blame, nor faulty in the business, as he verily believes.

"Sir ALLEN APSLEY, when Mr. Seymour took down Sir William Morrice to the orders, said, 'It was rudely done;' for which he was called to explain by several, and by some to the bar.

"Sir WILLIAM COVENTRY.—*Verba valent usu.* Would have Sir Allen Apsley done with as the Roman priests are, who, after the law hath slept some time against them, have a day by proclamation set them to avoid the kingdom; the same course he would have taken in the house; that, order being discontinued, it may be from this time revived, and what is past and done forgotten.

"[Debate on Mr. Brunkard's business resumed.]

"Captain Cox.—It was frequent for his royal highness to send messages by his servants; his pages have brought orders sometimes. He did not hear his royal highness inquire, why sails were lowered. He should not have lowered for one message; but Mr. Brunkard came a second time to Sir John Harman.

"[Sir John Harman was discharged, and Mr. Brunkard, for his contempt in not attending the house, was expelled; and he was ordered to be impeached for a misdemeanour, in bringing pretended orders to Sir John Harman from the duke, for lowering the sails.]"

The following is Burnet's statement of this case. "Brounker came to Penn, as from the duke, and "said, the duke ordered the sail to be slackened. "Penn was struck with the order, but did not go to "argue the matter with the duke himself, as he "ought to have done, *but obeyed it.* When the "duke had slept, he, upon his waking, went out on "the quarter-deck, and seemed amazed to see the "sails slackened, and that thereby all hope of over-"taking the Dutch was lost. He questioned Penn "upon it. Penn put in on Brouncker, who said "nothing. The duke denied he had given any such "order; but he neither punished Brouncker for car-"rying it, nor Penn for obeying it. He, indeed, "put Brouncker out of his service: Penn was more "in his favour after that than ever before, which "he continued to his son after him, though a "Quaker; and it was thought all that favour was to "oblige him to keep the secret." The Oxford editor here observes: "it appears, from the journal of the "house of commons, that the order was carried, "*not to Penn, but to Harman:*" by which slight misnomer, the good bishop put himself in the predicament of the challenging duellist, who, on coming to the field bethought himself, and said to his opponent; "Did I say *anchovies?* I beg you ten thousand "pardons, I meant *capers.*" As to the "*secret,*" Burnet utters nothing short of nonsense; for, Penn could have no secret to keep of that, to which the ship's company were summoned as witnesses. "Burnet," says Macpherson, "ascribes it prepos-

" terously to design (of the duke): he has strangely " misrepresented this fact, and indeed almost all the " facts concerning this unfortunate prince."

The following is the Duke of York's own account of the sequel of that great day's conflict, as published by Macpherson.

" The Dutch were pursued till night; and had it not been for an accident, most of them would have been take next morning before they got into the Texel.

" When it began to grow dark, the duke ordered the *Norwich*, a fifth-rate, Captain Witwang, to keep just a-head of him all night, to carry lights out, and keep up close with the Dutch, that, if they should clear their course, to fire guns and make false fires, to put up more lights, and to steer the same course with them; so as not to lose them in the night, in order to engage them at day-break. After giving these orders, he staid on deck till quite dark, then went down to his cabin for a little rest. But before he laid down, he went again on the quarter-deck, to see how all went; and going down about eleven, he repeated his orders, to be sure to keep close up with the Dutch, to fight them when the day broke. He had no sooner laid himself down on a quilt, with his clothes on, than H. Brounker went up to the quarter-deck, and tried to persuade Captain Cox, master of the *Royal Charles*, to shorten sail, not to expose the Duke of York, by running amongst his enemies in the night; his ship being so good a sailer, that not only he might find himself, at day-break, too far engaged among them, but be also exposed to have some of their fire-ships clapt on board him, and thwart his hause, in the night: that he should take care of the duke's person, being heir to the crown. Cox answered, he was but master of the ship; that the Duke of York had ordered to make what sail he could; and, without a command from him, or an order from some superior officer, he neither could nor would do it.

"Brounker then addressed himself to Captain Harman, first lieutenant, a brave and experienced commander, and a man of good sense, using the same and other arguments; but in vain, unless ordered by Sir William Penn, the captain. Brounker went under deck, and coming up again, told Harman that the duke ordered him to shorten sail, though he never so much as went into the duke's cabin. Harman, not thinking it possible for a gentleman to tell a lie, not only shortened sail, but, after some time, brought to; as was afterwards proved, on examination of the affair before the house of commons. But fearing it might produce some disorder in the fleet, as it did, he put in a short time before the wind again, and settled his top-sails a little; and just as day began to break, hoisted them a trip again, a moment before the duke, who knew nothing of what had passed, came on the quarter-deck.

"Thus, the Dutch got a good deal a-head of us; and when it grew light, the Duke of York found himself half a league a-stern of the Dutch, and the like distance a-head of the body of his own fleet, with only the *Centurion*, a fourth-rate, Captain Moulton, and two of his yachts near him. He fancied his ship being a good sailer made him so far a-head of his own fleet; and that the Dutch had outsailed him, by our going right before the wind, and their drawing less water than us. The Dutch kept all their sail to the Texel, followed by third and fourth rates, who took some. But the tide not serving to enter the Texel, they came to an anchor so near the sands, and in such shallow water, that we durst not venture near them with our great ships; and they were of too much force, and too numerous for our small ones. Four or five fire-ships would have destroyed the most of them, before the tide turned them in. But we had only four fire-ships when the fight began; three of which were spent, and one disabled. The third had been spent on the *Helverton* of 66 guns, which cleared itself of her, but was taken."

Criminal and infamous as Brouncker's conduct was, and calamitous as it might have proved before an engagement, no man of sense and justice believed the high-coloured and exaggerated consequences which the parliament, or rather Monk's majority in the parliament, found it convenient to attribute to it. The position of the duke's fleet in the nocturnal pursuit of the Dutch on this occasion, was similar to that of Blake and Monk on the 3d of June, 1653, when those generals wrote thus to Cromwell, after the victory of that day:—"We pressed so hard upon "them, that we sunk and took many of them, as "appears by the enclosed list; and do suppose we "should have destroyed most of them, *but that it* "*grew dark; and being off Ostend, among the sands,* "*we durst not be too bold, especially with the great* "*ships; so that it was thought fit we should anchor* "*all night, which we accordingly did about ten of the* "*clock.* This morning, some of our ships descried "the enemy again afar off, steering towards the "Wielings." But the Duke of York, though with larger ships, and in the same seas, did not come to an anchor, but pursued the enemy from ten o'clock throughout the night; though temporally checked in his course by the treachery of Brouncker. Colliber, who prided himself on his impartiality, not only with respect to the rivalship of the English and Dutch, but also to the hostility of our party writers at home, remarks: "The night after the battle, the whole "Dutch fleet might probably have been destroyed,

" *if the wind had not blown hard upon the shore,* and " the English had not spent their fire-ships."[1]

But the truth is, that every manœuvre was put in practice by Monk, who was strong in the influential party in the house of commons, to lessen the impression of his own failure in 1666, by lowering the estimate of the great success of the preceding year. It is a great satisfaction to the mind to dwell upon the fact, that our only eminent disgraces at sea occurred when landsmen were permitted to command our fleets in the presence of an enemy, and to manage them wholly by the rule of their own inscience; because, there is no probability of such an anomaly ever taking place again.

" *May 27th.*—To see Sir W. Penn, whom I find " still very ill of the gout, sitting in his great chair, " made on purpose for persons sick of that disease, " for their ease; and this very chair, he tells me, was " made for my Lady Lambert."

" *June 4th.*—I do plainly see that I can very ill " be spared now, there being much business, and I " the man that am alone consulted with; and be- " sides, my Lord Brouncker is at this time ill, and " Sir W. Penn."

" *17th.*—To Colebrook, by noon; the way mighty " good; and there dined, and fitted ourselves a little " to go through London anon. Thence pleasant way " to London before night, and find all well to my " great content; and saw Sir W. Penn, who is well " again."

[1] Page 163.

"*July* 17*th*.—To Whitehall," says Pepys, "where "waited on the Duke of York, and then the council, "about the tickets, and I did discourse to their "liking; only was too high, to assert that nothing "could be invented to secure the king more in the "business of tickets than there is; which the Duke "of Buckingham did except against, and I could "have answered, but forebore: but all liked very "well."

The following, was the transaction of that day.

"*Court at Whitehall, the* 17*th of July*, 1668.

"PRESENT,

"The King's most Excellent Majesty.

"Upon reading this day at the board the ensuing report of the principal officers and commissioners of the navy, it was ordered, That the same should be carefully entered into the register-book of council causes, as follows: viz.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

"In order to the answering your lordships' commands of the 8th instant, directing us to consider of and report to your lordships this day some expedient for the speedy putting a stop to our further signing of tickets, we take leave to premise to your lordships, in all that is necessary to the right determining in this (so much contested) point, touching the use of tickets:

"That every seaman discharged, hath a right of demanding and receiving his wages, at the instant of his discharge. But, forasmuch as this cannot be expected without a stock of money resting at all times in each ship, wherewith to satisfy on board the wages of each man discharged; the person discharged is, by the practice of the navy, become contented to receive a certificate from the officers of the ship, expressing

the quality and term of his service; which certificate being examined and signed by us, becomes a ticket, or warrant, authorising the treasurer of the navy to pay him on shore.

"Which being premised, we now humbly answer; That if, by a stop to the signing of tickets, your lordships mean our withholding to examine and sign such certificates as the officers of the ships shall thus issue, we know not how the same is practicable without manifest injury to the seaman discharged; who, by this means, would not only be prevented in the payment of his wages on board, but defrauded of the right of demanding it of the treasurer on shore.

"But, as we rather conceive your lordships' intention in this question to be the putting a stop to the whole use of tickets; then our humble answer is, That if (as premised) every seaman discharged hath a right of receiving his own on board, or a ticket enabling him to demand it on shore, then, so many occasions as there are of discharging men at sea, so many also must there indispensably be of providing money there, or employing of tickets.

"Of which occasions (for your lordships' clearer information) we pray leave to give you this short list.

"1. Death, by which the executors of the party slain (and those, for the most part, their necessitous widows and orphans,) lay present claim to the wages of the deceased.

"2. Sickness and wounds, rendering seamen as unfit to stay, as unable to serve, on board.

"3. The many removes for preferment occasioned by the death of officers.

"4. The payment of men saved out of ships lost, or returned out of ships taken.

"5. The removing prest men out of pressing-vessels into the ships of war wherein they are to serve; and the discharging of many of them thence, when upon trial found unserviceable.

"6. The removal of commanders, attended generally with

the removal of a great part of their companies, besides their retinues.

" 7. The transferring of men from one ship to another, either for supplying of ships in want, or manning of prizes.

" 8. The keeping of ships long in pay, occasioning a frequent necessity of supplying seamen with part of their wages for the relief of their families.

" 9. The frequent reductions of ships' complements at sea, to a lower number.

" To which, as a great continued occasion of the use of tickets, may be added that which by your lordships hath been found necessary to be practised, namely, the easing of his majesty's growing charges, by discharging of seamen with money for one part of their time, and tickets for the other; which practice is also likely rather to greaten upon us than to admit of any suspension, by the necessity we are now under of dividing each man's single ticket into two or more, suitable to the nature of the moneys provided by parliament; restraining its application to the particular service of distinct years. So that (may it please your lordships) we conceive the use of tickets to be by no other means removable, than by a supply of money in every place, at all times, in readiness, where and when either any of the afore-mentioned, or other occasions of discharging seamen, shall arise.

" Which humbly leaving with your lordships, is all we find in our hands to offer towards the satisfaction of your lordships in this matter, and remain

" Your lordships' obedient servants,

" Brounker. W. Penn.
" Tho. Middleton. S. Pepys.

" Navy Office, 10th of July, 1668."

The reference of the privy council was certainly a very curious one, and was much like propounding

the question, how a man may be relieved from his debts without paying them? And assuredly, the navy-board would have acquired the gratitude of millions, besides the Duke of Buckingham, if they had been ingenious enough to devise any more satisfactory answer.

"*Sept. 7th.*—With my Lord Brouncker (who was "this day in an unusual manner merry, I believe "with drink), J. Minnes, and W. Penn, to Bartholo- "mew fair; and there saw the dancing mare again."

"*19th.*—To the king's play-house. Here was my "Lord Brouncker, and W. Penn, and their ladies in "the box, being grown mightily kind of a sudden; "but, God knows it will last but a little while, I "dare swear."

October 13th.—Died, in the 66th year of his age, Algernon Percy, earl of Northumberland, under whose high admiralty, in 1642, Sir W. Penn received his first captain's commission, at the age of twenty-one years. The name of this illustrious nobleman is identified with the British navy; his "Instructions," issued in 1640, having formed the basis of all subsequent admiralty regulations. He was buried, with due honour, at Petworth.

"*Nov. 4th.*—That that pleases me most is," says Pepys, "that several do tell me that Penn is to be "removed, and others that he has resigned his place; "and particularly Spragg tells me for certain, that "he hath resigned it, and is become a partner with "Gauden in the victualling; in which I think he

" hath done a very cunning thing; but I am sure I " am glad of it; and it will be well for the king to " have him out of this office."

" *5th.*—The Duke of York did call me and Mr. " Wren; and my paper that I have lately taken " pains to draw up was read, and the Duke of York " pleased therewith.—But I do now more and more " perceive the Duke of York's trouble, and that he " do lie under great weight of mind from the Duke " of Buckingham's carrying things against him; and " particularly when I advised, that he would use his " interest that a seaman might come into the room " of Sir W. Penn, who is now declared to be gone " from us to that of the victualling; and did shew, " how the office would be left without one seaman " in it but the surveyor and controller, who is so " old as to be able to do nothing; he told me plainly, " that I knew his mind well enough as to seamen, " but that it must be as others will. And Wren did " tell it me, as a secret, that when the Duke of " York did first tell the king about Sir W. Penn's " leaving of the place, and that when the Duke of " York did move the king, that either Capt. Cox or " Sir Jeremy Smith might succeed him, the king " did tell him, that that was a matter fit to be con- " sidered of, and would not agree to either presently: " and so the Duke of York could not prevail for " either. The Duke of York did tell me himself; " that if he had not carried it privately, when first " he mentioned Penn's leaving his place to the king, " it had not been done; for the Duke of Bucking-

" ham, and those of his party,[1] do cry out upon it as " a strange thing to trust such a thing into the hands " of one that stands accused in parliament; and that " they have so far prevailed upon the king, that he " would not have him named in council, but only " take his name to the board: but I think he said, " that only Gauden's name shall go in the patent; " at least, at the time when Sir Richard Browne " asked the king the names of Gauden's security, " the king told him, it was not yet necessary for him " to declare them."

" *9th.*—The Duke of York told me, that Sir " W. Penn had been with him this morning, to ask " whether it would be fit for him to sit at the office " now, because of his resolution to be gone, and to be " concerned in the victualling? The Duke of York " answered,—Yes, till his contract was signed."

" *13th.*—Up, and with Sir W. Penn by coach to " Whitehall, where to the Duke of York; and there " did our usual business. To the Three-tuns tavern " by Charing Cross, and there dined with Sir W. " Penn, Sir J. Minnes, and Commissioner Middleton; " and as merry as my mind could be, that hath so " much trouble upon it at home."—*Hunc tu, Romane, caveto!*

" *December 7th.*—Sir W. Coventry says, that he " hath no more mind to be found meddling with the " navy; and he do protest to me, that he is as weary " of the treasury as ever he was of the navy."

[1] The famous CABAL, or *Clifford*, *Arlington*, *Buckingham*, *Ashley*, *Lauderdale*, and their adherents.

" 20*th.*—This evening comes Mr. Billup to me, " to read over Mr. Wren's alterations of my draught " of a letter for the Duke of York to sign to the " board; which I like mighty well, they being not " considerable, only in *mollifying some hard terms* " *which I had thought fit to put in.*"

" 28*th.*—This day presented to the board the " Duke of York's letter; which, I perceive, troubled " Sir W. Penn, he declaring himself meant in that " part that concerned 'excuse by sickness;' *but I do* " *not care, but am mightily glad that it is done;* " *and now I shall begin to be at pretty good ease* " *in the office.*" Sir W. Penn's health, which had been a long time radically failing, and which, within two years, brought his life prematurely to its end, had of late rendered him occasionally unable to attend the meetings of the Navy-board. The long and laborious services which had broken up that health, and which were the true causes of those occasional absences, experienced no respect or indulgence from Pepys; who, by his own secret confession, had used " *some hard terms*" on the occasion, which the better feelings of others had deemed it proper to " *mollify.*" This continued vexatious and heartless disposition in Pepys' caused Sir W. Penn to address the following letter to the Duke of York.

"*Sir W. Penn to H.R.H. the Duke of York.*

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"In obedience to your royal highness's commands, directed to the board the 26th of August last, requiring our several answers to the matter therein expressed, as they touch our particular, and general duties, I humbly take leave to offer to your royal highness; That, until your royal highness was pleased (in January 66-7) to command my care in stating the victuallers' and pursers' accounts, I had no particular duty charged on me; and therefore, till that time, do humbly conceive, that I am concerned only in giving your royal highness an account of myself, and my behaviour, in the joint duty of the principal officers and commissioners of his majesty's navy; which will likewise be much shortened by the distinction your royal highness hath been pleased to make, of such articles of our joint duty as did depend upon the performance of the particular officers, from such as were not so absolutely dependant on the performance of others. In the former of which, the advice, counsel, and assistance of the commissioners was required, for the promoting those ends aimed at in those duties enjoined to the particular offices; in which, as I am not conscious to myself of having at any time been wanting, to the best of my abilities, either by advising at the board, or by assisting any member thereof, when thereunto desired, so I cannot suspect any will be so unjust to me, as to charge me with it. But, if any particular shall be at any time instanced, I shall not doubt of giving your royal highness full satisfaction therein.

"As to the other part which your royal highness is pleased to observe, incumbent equally on all the members of the Navy Office, contained in the first and thirteenth articles; I humbly take leave to say, that I have, upon all occasions,

done my best to perform the first article, which relates to the consulting his majesty's profit and service (which I acknowledge to be my duty to do), not by one or some few acts, but by a continued perseverance and practice; and therefore, it is a matter which some few instances on my part cannot prove discharged, and I am sure no instances (except such errors from which I cannot be vain enough to think myself exempt) can be given to the contrary.

"To the other, concerning my attendance; I humbly take leave to say, that I am confident, that those who least wish my justification will not deny, but that I have given a constant and diligent attendance, without lodging two nights out of the office when in health (and, if absent by my infirmity, it was by your royal highness's permission); except when, for some few weeks, his majesty and your royal highness gave me leave to go into Ireland, when my lord lieutenant went first thither; and unless employed in the service of the navy, by his majesty's and your royal highness's command, in other places; or, of late, for the recovery of my health, which obliged me, the last summer, to hire a dwelling distant about five, or six miles at most, out of town, where I went usually on Saturday nights (if my services were not called for elsewhere), and sometimes oftener; but so, as that neither my general duty, or that particular committed to my charge (of which I shall speak more particularly), were the less performed by it; making it my practice to stay on the post-nights until the letters were signed, or did leave behind a quorum to do it. In which, besides my confidence that his majesty's service did not suffer, I am the bolder to promise myself your royal highness's pardon, since my want of health was the ground of what I did herein; making bold, at the same time, to inform your royal highness, that from the time we first had the alarm of the Dutch fleet's coming to the Buoy of the Nore, until the time of their departure, and some time after, I did not come near that habitation in the country, nor indeed this of the

Navy Office but once (and then I was sent for by the board); but constantly was at Gravesend, Woolwich, Deptford, or upon the river, where his majesty's service did most call for my attendance.

"The experience of your royal highness's goodness to all who have the honour to approach you, makes me confident your royal highness will not be offended, if, in my vindication on this point, I presume to enlarge your royal highness's trouble, and beg your royal highness's own recollection, how my time hath been spent for some years past. I shall not insist upon the many (and some long as well as sharp) sicknesses I have had, not worthy your royal highness's notice, much less your memory, but which might otherwise entitle me rather to your royal highness's compassion than displeasure; but shall humbly beg your royal highness to remember, that at the first resolution of a war with the Dutch, or preparation for it (1664), your royal highness was pleased to send me to Portsmouth two several times, where, at each of them, I continued for some time. After which, when your royal highness resolved to expose your own person to the hazard of the same war, you were pleased to command my attendance in fitting out, and carrying about for Portsmouth, the great ships first set forth; and to continue my eye frequently on the work in the rivers of Thames and Medway, that winter. Very early in the spring (1665), your royal highness was pleased to command me on board the *Royal Charles*, in the Downs; and to bring the fleet, then come from Portsmouth, to the buoy of the Gunfleet. My continuance on board the *Royal Charles*, by your royal highness's command, was till Christmas (65).

"When your royal highness was pleased to dispense[1] with my going to sea in (66), your royal highness, I believe, doth not forget how frequently you were pleased, by your

[1] See above, page 369.

own command, to direct my leaving the office upon several services; for hastening out ships, or refitting such as were returned; sometimes, upon the noise of an engagement, to go down to the Gunfleet, or Rowling-grounds, to expect the coming in of the fleet, or scattering ships, and to give my attendance on the admirals during the refitting of the fleet; and many other occasions, on which I presume your royal highness remembers you were pleased to command my service oftener than that of any of my brethren, as well that year as since. So that, if your royal highness's commands have led me to services in other places, and journeys (sometimes very painful to my infirm health), I hope such an absence from the office will not by any, I am sure it will not by your royal highness, be esteemed criminal; and, for other absences, I do with much assurance insist upon what I have said before; which, being conscious of the trouble I have given, and must yet give, your royal highness, I shall not repeat, but apply myself to give an account of the particular duty intrusted to me in January (66-7) relating to the accounts of the victuallers and pursers.

"Though the order of council was dated the 16th January (66-7), yet I could not get books, and other materials to fall to work, until the beginning of March following; since when, I have met with many interruptions not in my power to remove: as,

"By attending other services, ordinary and extraordinary, some by your royal highness's special command.

"By the fire of London, which dispersed some, and ruined others of the purser's security, by whom they were to be quickened to account.

"By the want of books from the commissioners of sick and wounded, to check the purser's accounts.

"By attending the parliament.

"By the attempts of the Dutch in the river.

"By the infirmity of my health; and those troubles in

which I have been involved,[1] which I hope will appear not to have been drawn on me by any guilt of mine, but may be reasonably allowed to have place amongst the other interruptions to the execution of the business committed to me.

"Yet, notwithstanding all these interruptions; the great time it takes up to cast every book twice, many whereof have six or eight victuallings, and several of them more, and many of them two or three voyages in the same book, which are reckoned but for one account; the dividing the petty-warrant from the sea-victuals; the reducing the sick and wounded books to be of use; dividing the time for which the supernumeraries are warranted; the general backwardness of pursers to come to account; the death of many, and the cashiering of others, which occasions great confusion in the accounts, and prolongation of time; I have passed (besides the victualler's accounts) for service foreign and domestic, three hundred and thirty accounts of pursers; for doing which, I have been forced to examine, at the least, a thousand certificates; besides several, after examination, I have totally rejected; and many of the former I have been forced to return twice, some thrice, before they arrive at the punctuality necessary. The returning of which certificates, (by reason of the remote habitation of several of the officers who were required to certify matter-of-fact more clear,) may be accounted not the least interruption I have met with in this affair.

"Now, that your royal highness may see that my endeavours have not been without some fruit to his majesty, I shall make it appear by the particulars, when your royal highness commands me thereunto; that, in the accounts I have passed of pursers alone, there is saved to his majesty, from what the books and certificates signed by the commanders and other officers would have allowed, above eighteen thousand pounds. I have also now, in my office, near one hundred books cast

[1] Alluding to his impeachment.

and ready to pass; the greater part thereof are stopped for bearing supernumeraries, until your royal highness's pleasure therein is known; out of which, as well as other books yet behind, I shall make a farther considerable advantage to his majesty.

"As to the ballancing the victualler's account, it hath been my frequent desire, (and sometimes in your royal highness's hearing, to whom I must appeal in this case), that it might be effected, but, as yet, I could never arrive thereunto; nor can your royal highness think it possible for me, when, at this day, the victualler hath accounts depending for provisions delivered for four, five, nay, at least, six years since, which, by my instructions, I am not required to take cognisance of.

"I have omitted many particulars; being even ashamed of giving your royal highness so much trouble, as nothing but your own commands could excuse, and to which nothing but my obedience, and desire of averting your royal highness's displeasure, would have tempted me. I humbly beseech your royal highness's acceptance hereof, from,

"May it please your royal highness,

"Your royal highness's most dutiful
and most obedient servant,

"Navy Office." "WILLIAM PENN."
(*Date wanting.*)

There is a retributive justice in the world, which frequently reveals itself, and which did so on the present occasion. In the following year, an inquisitorial letter, from the commissioners of accounts, gave Pepys much greater annoyance than that which he had, with so much industry and satisfaction, contrived for his former friend and instructor.

"*James, Duke of York and Albany, &c. &c. &c.*

"For Sir W. Penn, Knt.

"Whereas, by an act of parliament made in the 13th year of his majesty's reign, entitled, 'An Act for the establishing Articles and Orders for the regulating and better government of his majesty's navy, ships of war, and forces by sea,' full power and authority is given to the lord high admiral of England for the time being, to grant commission to inferior vice-admirals, or commanders-in-chief of any squadron of ships, to call and assemble courts-martial, to consist of commanders and captains, for the putting in execution the said articles and orders, and for the trial of such persons as shall offend against the same; and whereas his majesty's ship the *Defiance* was lately burnt in the river of Medway, near Chatham, concerning the loss of which ship I judge it fitting that strict inquiry be made, and that such persons as shall be found guilty therein, either by wilfulness, negligence, or otherwise, may receive condign punishment for the same; I do therefore hereby authorise, empower, and require you forthwith to call and assemble a court-martial consisting of commanders and captains, according as is mentioned in the said act; who are to inquire concerning the loss of his majesty's said ship *Defiance*, and to proceed to the trial and conviction of all such person or persons as shall be suspected to be any ways guilty in the loss of the said ship; in such way and manner as hath been usually practised in his majesty's navy; and to give sentence on the said person or persons, either of pain of death, or such other pains and penalties as shall be thought fit by the said court-martial, according to the true intent and meaning of the said articles and orders; and also, to cause such sentence to be duly executed accordingly. And you are to order the deputy judge advocate of his majesty's fleet, from time to time, to attend

the said court-martial, for the more orderly proceeding of the same; and you are, moreover, to summon the several persons hereunder named, to assist at the said court-martial, who are hereby authorised and empowered to assist at the same accordingly: and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal, at Whitehall, this 29th of December, 1668.

(Signed) "JAMES.

"Sir GEORGE ASCUE.[1]	Capt. JOHN NORBROUGH.
Sir JEREMY SMITH.	Capt. WILLIAM COLEMAN.
Sir ROBERT HOLMES.	Capt. EDW. COTTERELL.
Sir JOSEPH JORDAN.	Capt. THOMAS GUY.
Sir JOHN HARMAN.	Capt. RICH. GOODLAD.
THOMAS MIDDLETON, Esq.	Capt. BEN. YOUNG.
SAMUEL PEPYS, Esq.	Capt. RICH. BEACH.
Rear-Admiral KEMPTHORNE.	Capt. RICH. HADDOCK.
Capt. JOHN COX.	Capt. CHARLES WYLDE.
Sir JOHN CHICHELEY.	Capt. PETER BOWEN.
Capt. JOHN HUBBARD.	Capt. FRANCIS WILSSHAW.
Capt. WILLOUGH. HANNAM.	Capt. ROB. SHEPPARD.
Capt. WILLIAM POOLE.	Capt. ROB. WORDEN.

"By command of his R. Highness,

(Signed) "M. WREN."

As I shall have no further occasion to mention the name of Sir Joseph Jordan in these Memorials, it is necessary here briefly to vindicate the memory of

[1] Charnock states, that after Sir George Ascue returned from his imprisonment in Holland, he "declined going to sea any more;" but adds in a note, that it appears, from a manuscript list of the navy, that he hoisted his flag on board the *Triumph* in 1668, and on board the *St. Andrew* in 1671-2. The first of these dates (properly 1668-9) shews that it was only an appointment of form, in order to his sitting on this court-martial; and we may thence conclude, that his appointment in 1671-2 was for a similar occasion. Of the death of this eminent officer there is no record.

that long-distinguished officer against the *ex parte* accusation alleged against him, of having criminally and intentionally abandoned the Earl of Sandwich to his melancholy fate in the battle of Solebay, on the 28th of May, 1672. The apparent fact was this: That noble earl's ship, in consequence of his brave encounters, was grievously crippled, and reduced almost to a hulk upon the water. In this condition, he sent his barge to require Sir Joseph Jordan's assistance, while that admiral was advancing to the succour of the lord high admiral, then greatly pressed by the enemy. Sir Joseph still pursued his first object, and hastened to the aid of the Duke of York. "The "earl," says Campbell, "might have been relieved, "if Sir Joseph Jordan had not been more solicitous "about saving the duke." "Sir Joseph Jordan," says Sir Richard Haddock (Sandwich's captain), in his report to the Duke of York, "passed by us very "unkindly, and took no notice of us." Now, what were the instructions to the fleet? (See *Fighting Instruction*, 22, par. 1, 2, and 5, App. L.) It was not possible, at the instant, to reconcile the orders of all the three paragraphs. Sir Joseph, therefore, combined the 1st and 5th. The earl's ship, though greatly crippled, was not "*in danger of sinking*" at the moment; he therefore "*left the securing of the "lame ship to the sternmost of the fleet,*" according to the 1st paragraph, and "*had an eye to defend the "chief admiral,*" according to the 5th. It was at a later moment of the battle that a Dutch fire-ship too successfully grappled the Earl of Sandwich, in conse-

quence of which cruel success, that gallant person and accomplished nobleman most lamentably, but most honourably, perished. This was the real state of the case; and, all that appears of Jordan's character goes to confirm it.[1] It completely exonerates him, though it may cast blame on the ships astern: and we must remember, that his accusers were either interested parties or cavaliers, and that Jordan had served the parliament. On the return of the fleet, he was promoted from vice-admiral of the blue, to be vice-admiral of the red. This promotion, immediately after the battle, is a sufficient proof that he was not considered to have transgressed the 2d order of the Instruction, which constitutes the proper charge. Charnock observes, "he was no longer employed;" for which fact, he offers various ingenious conjectures. But, that biographer was unable to trace the history of this brave old seaman higher than the year 1664, and he might therefore, with some reason, imagine that there must have been some strong cause for his being no longer employed, after only eight years' service, in 1672: we, however, who have seen Jordan in the command of a ship of war, as a contemporary of Ascue and Penn, twenty years earlier, in 1644, are able to discover that, like them, he must have nearly exhausted his powers of service, and have reached, in the due progress of time, the mature season for his retirement. The time and place of his death are unknown.

[1] See vol. i. p. 269.

1669.

"*March 4th.*—To Whitehall," says Pepys, "where, "in the first court, I did meet Sir Jeremy Smith, "who did tell me, that Sir William Coventry was "just now sent to the Tower about the business of "challenging the Duke of Buckingham; and so was "also Henry Saville to the Gate-house.—Meeting "with Lord Belasses, he told me the particulars of "this matter; that it arises about a quarrel which "Sir W. Coventry had with the Duke of Bucking-"ham, about a design between him and Sir Robert "Howard to bring him into a play at the king's "house; which W. Coventry not enduring, did, by "Henry Saville, send a letter to the Duke of Buck-"ingham, that he had a desire to speak with him. "Upon which the duke did bid Holmes (his cham-"pion ever since my Lord Shrewsbury's business) "go to him to do the business; but H. Saville would "not tell it to any but himself, and therefore did go "presently to the Duke of Buckingham, and told "him, that his uncle Coventry was a person of "honour, and was sensible of his grace's liberty "taken of abusing him, and that he had a desire of "satisfaction, and would fight him. But, that here "they were interrupted by my lord chamberlain's "coming in, who was commanded to bid the Duke "of Buckingham to come to the king, Holmes having "discovered it. He told me, that the king did last "night, at the council, ask the Duke of Buckingham,

"upon his honour, whether he received any chal-
" lenge from W. Coventry? which he confessed that
" he had; and then the king asking W. Coventry, he
" told him, he did not own what the Duke of Buck-
" ingham had said, though it was not fit for him to
" give him a direct contradiction. But, being by the
" king put upon declaring the truth upon his honour,
" he answered, that he had understood that many
" hard questions had upon this business been moved
" to some lawyers, and that therefore he was un-
" willing to declare any thing that might from his
" own mouth render him obnoxious to his majesty's
" displeasure; and therefore prayed to be excused:
" which the king did think fit to interpret to be a
" confession, and so gave warrant that night for his
" commitment to the Tower. Being very much
" troubled at this, I away by coach homewards, and
" directly to the Tower, where I find him in one
" Mr. Bennet's house, son to Major Bayly, one of
" the officers of the ordnance, in the Brick Tower;
" where I find him busy with my Lord Hallifax and
" his brother: so I would not stay to interrupt them,
" but only to give him comfort and offer my service
" to him, which he kindly and cheerfully received;
" only owning his being troubled for the king his
" master's displeasure, which I suppose is the ordi-
" nary form and will of persons in this condition."

" *6th.*—Before the office, I stepped to Sir W.
" Coventry at the Tower, and there had a great deal
" of discourse with him; among others, of the king
" putting him out of the council yesterday, with

" which he is well contented, as with what else they
" can strip him of; he telling me, and so hath long,
" that he is weary and surfeited of business; but he
" joins with me in his fears, that all will go to naught
" as matters are now managed."

" *7th.* (*Lord's day.*)—To the Tower, to see Sir
" W. Coventry, who had H. Jermin and a great many
" more with him, and more while I was there came
" in; so that I do hear that there was not less than
" sixty coaches there yesterday and the other day;
" which, I hear also, that there is great exception
" taken of by the king and the Duke of Buckingham;
" but it cannot be helped."

" *9th.*—Up, and to the Tower; and there find
" Sir W. Coventry alone, writing down his *Journal,*
" which, he tells me, he now keeps of the material
" things. Upon which I told him (and he is the
" only man I ever told it to, I think), that I kept it
" most strictly these eight or ten years; and I am
" sorry almost that I told it to him, it not being
" necessary, *nor may be convenient, to have it known.*"[1]
" Here he shewed me the petition he had sent to
" the king by my lord keeper; which was not to
" desire any admittance to employment, but sub-
" mitting himself therein humbly to his majesty;
" but prayed the removal of his displeasure, and
" that he might be set free."

[1] A qualm in Pepys' breast, who was conscious that the stern virtue of Coventry would not have been propitiated with all his incense, had he known or suspected the duplicity, and slander of his friend, with which Pepys had already loaded his journal; as will appear hereafter.

"13*th.*—That which puts me in good humour "both at noon and night," says Pepys, "is the fancy "that I am this day made a captain of one of the "king's ships, Mr. Wren having this day sent me "the Duke of York's commission to be captain of "the *Jersey*, in order to my being of a court-martial "for examining the loss of the *Defiance*, and other "things; which do give me occasion of much mirth, "and may be of some use to me; at least, I shall "get a little money for the time I have it; it being "designed that I must really be a captain to be able "to sit in this court."

16*th.*—This day, Sir William Coventry's *Proposal* for reducing the charge of the navy within the annual expenditure of 200,000*l.* (see 20th of August, 1667), was adopted by the king in council; and the following letter was, in consequence, addressed by his majesty to his royal highness the lord high admiral.

"C. R. "THE NAVY.

"Most dear brother, we greet you well. Whereas we have found fit, &c.; and amongst others, in that of our navy, which we have thought fit henceforth to reduce to the yearly sum of 200,000*l.*, according to the annexed project, acknowledged by the officers of our navy to be practicable in times of peace, our ships being first repaired and stores replenished by some other means; we have thought fit hereby to signify the same to you, to the end you may forthwith transmit it to the principal officers and commissioners of our navy, for their future government in the yearly issues and expenses of our navy and yards. Which reduction we will that it begin and

take place from our Lady-day now next ensuing; for which, &c.

" By his, &c.

" To the Duke of York." " ARLINGTON."
" *Mar.* 16, 68-9."

" *A Proposal for reducing the Charge of the Navy to* 200,000*l. per Annum.*

" For the reducing to practice the proposal of maintaining the navy and fleets at sea, in time of peace, with 200,000*l.*, it is necessary to consider the navy in two parts: The one, the charge of it in harbour; the wages and salaries and travelling charges of all officers relating to it; the maintaining all the buildings, wharfs, and docks, &c. in all his majesty's yards; the moorings, and ordinary graving and caulking, of the ships for their preservation; the wages and victuals of the officers and ship-keepers borne upon them; and, in short, all such charge as is to be defrayed, though no ships should be set to sea: all which being, by a late estimate made by the officers of the navy, computed to amount to 76,010*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*, but not comprehending the ordinary charge of seven second-rate ships and three third-rate ships now in building, which, when built, will cost in ordinary about 5000*l.* more, so that, in all, the ordinary may be computed at about 80,000*l.* per annum, out of which somewhat may be saved by ships at sea (which, when the fleets are small, will not be very considerable), by the wet docks at Deptford, and the creek at Portsmouth; so that, upon the whole matter, 100,000*l.* per annum may maintain the ordinary; and build and rigg for his majesty, in every two years, three ships of the third rate. The other part of the navy to be considered is, the charge of setting ships to sea for ordinary uses in times of peace. To which, if 100,000*l.* more be allotted, his majesty may, during the winter, maintain at sea ten ships, of the rates following:

Of the 3d rate	1	bearing	200 (men.)
4th rate	2	.....	250
5th rate	4	.....	320
6th rate	3	.....	105
			875

"For the summer, his majesty may maintain twenty-four ships, of the rates following:

Of the 2d rate	1	bearing	280 (men.)
3d rate	2	.....	400
4th rate	5	.....	625
5th rate	9	.....	720
6th rate	7	.....	245
			2270

"With the winter fleet, his majesty may keep at

Tangier and the Mediterranean	1 or 2
Jamaica	1 or 2
Ireland	2
Narrow seas	4

"If it shall be thought fit, one or two may be deducted from the summer fleet, and the winter guard increased.

"With the summer fleet, his majesty may keep at

Jamaica	2
Tangier and the Mediterranean	6
Ireland	3
Greenland	1
Iceland and Westmondy[1]	2
Newfoundland	2
Land's-end	2
Downs, herring fishing, and all accidental occasions	5
For Norway trade	1

"But if there be not always money ready to pay off ships and workmen, and to buy all provisions at the best hand, it will be impossible to perform this proposition.

[1] "Westman or Westmonia Islands, near Iceland, in lat. 63° 20′ N., and "long. 20° 28′ W."—MALHAM's *Naval Gaz.*

"If money may always be ready, somewhat will be saved out of the 100,000*l.* per annum, to supply extraordinary occasions which cannot be foreseen."[1]

"19*th.*—Middleton and I away to the office," says Pepys; "and there I late, busy making my "people, as I have done lately, to read Mr. Holland's '*Discourse of the Navy*,' and what other things I "can get, to inform me fully in all." It will appear, that the book here consulted by Pepys, was no other than the identical manuscript belonging to Sir W. Penn, now lying by me. It was never printed; it consists of ninety folio pages, and is entitled, "*A Brief "Discourse of the Navy*;" and at the end is written, "Composed by Mr. John Holland, 29° 7^{bris} 1638." Attached to this manuscript is a note, in the handwriting of William Penn, (the son), of the date 1675-6, giving direction to a transcriber to make a copy of it for himself, but adding this prohibition, "*I will part with no copy.*" The copy, so made by his order, is lodged in the British Museum among the Sloane MSS., and forms the first part of No. 3232, entitled, "Sir William Penn's Naval Tracts;" but the author's name at the end is omitted, I know not from what cause. From the prohibition prescribed to the copier, it is plain that no other copy existed than that in the possession of Sir W. Penn; and, therefore, that it had been lent and confided by him to Pepys, for his information and instruction. I am unable to give any account of this Mr. Holland, further than

[1] Warrant Books, State Paper Office, vol. xiv. pp. 50, 51.

that it appears he first suggested the mode of paying the seamen by tickets, (see Pepys' *Diary*, 30th Nov. 1660); and I conclude, from the silence of the editor of the *Diary*, that he had no information to impart respecting him. The treatise, is too large to be added as an appendix to these Memorials.

"20*th*.—Mightily pleased," says Pepys, "with "the news brought me to-night, that the king and "Duke of York are come back this afternoon; and "no sooner come, but a warrant was sent to the "Tower for the releasing Sir W. Coventry."

"22*d*.—I did make a step to see Sir W. Coventry "at his house, where, I bless God, he is come again; "but in my way I met him, and so he took me into "his coach and carried me to Whitehall, and there "set me down, where he ought not, at least he hath "not yet leave, to come. He told me, that he was "going to visit Sir John Trevor, who hath been "kind to him; and he shewed me a long list of all "his friends that he must this week make visits to, "that came to visit him in the Tower, and seems "mighty well satisfied with his being out of business; "but I hope he will not long be so, at least I do "believe that all must go to rack, if the king do not "come to see the want of such a servant."

"*April* 1*st*.—Up, and with Colonel Middleton "(at the desire of Rear-admiral Kempthorne, the "president, for our assisting them), to the court-"martial on board a yacht in the river, till two "o'clock; and we, being sent for, went to Sir W. "Penn's by invitation to dinner."

" 17*th*.—To Sir W. Coventry's; and fell to talk-
" of his late disgraces, and how basely, and in what a
" mean manner, the Duke of Buckingham hath pro-
" ceeded against him; not like a man of honour.
" He tells me, that the king will not give other
" answer about his coming to kiss his hand than,
' *not yet.*' But he says, that this that he desires, of
" kissing the king's hand, is only to show to the
" world that he is not discontent, and not in any
" desire to come again into play; though I do per-
" ceive, that he speaks this with less earnestness than
" heretofore; and this it may be is, from what he
" told me lately, that the king is offended at what is
" talked, that he hath declared himself desirous not
" to have to do with any employment more. But
" he do tell me, that the leisure he hath yet had, do
" not at all begin to be burdensome to him, he
" knowing how to spend his time with content to
" himself; and, that he hopes shortly to contract
" his expense, so as that he shall not be under any
" straits in that respect neither; and so seems to be
" in very good condition of content."[1]

[1] The annotator to PEPYS' *Diary* states, (*note* to May 22, 1660), that " having been forbid the court on account of his challenging the Duke of " Buckingham (in 1669), Sir William Coventry retired into the country; nor " could he be prevailed upon to accept of any official employment." That he persisted in refusing office from that period, is true; but not so, that he then retired into the country. On the contrary, he continued prominent on the stage of public life for nine years after. In GREY'S *Debates*, we trace him taking an active part in the House of Commons, in all its sessions, until the very dissolution of the parliament, January 1678-9. Then it was that he retired into the country, to his residence at Minster-Lovel, in Oxfordshire, where he lived respected and beloved by the whole county, (WOOD'S *Athen. Oxon.* ed. Bliss.); and was succeeded, in the representation of Yarmouth, by Mr. George England.

"*May* 3*d.*—To St. James's, where the Duke of "York was playing in the Pell-mell; and so he "called me to him most part of the time that he "played, which was an hour, and talked alone to "me; and, among other things, tells me how the "king will not yet be got to name any body in the "room of Penn, but puts it off for three or four days; "from whence he do collect that they are brewing "something for the navy, but what he knows not."

"10*th.*—To St. James's, and there met the Duke "of York; who told me, with great content, that he "did now think he should master our adversaries, "for that the king did tell him that he was satisfied "in the constitution of the navy, but that it was well "to give these people leave to object against it; "which they having not done, he did give order to "give warrant to the Duke of York to direct Sir "Jeremy Smith to be a commissioner of the navy, "in the room of Penn; which, though he be an "impertinent fellow, yet I am glad of it, it shewing "that the other side is not so strong as it was: and "so, in plain terms, the Duke of York did tell me, "that they were every day losing ground. Thence "walked a little with Creed, who tells me, he hears "how fine my horses and coach are, and advises me "to avoid being noted for it; which I was vexed to "hear taken notice of, being what I feared: and "Povy told me of my gold-laced sleeves in the park "yesterday; which vexed me also, so as to resolve "never to appear in court with them, but presently "to have them taken off, as it is fit I should."

"*25th.*—Up," says Pepys, "and by and by, about "eight o'clock, came Rear-Admiral Kempthorne and "seven captains more, by the Duke of York's order, "as we expected, to hold the court-martial about the "loss of the *Defiance*.[1] And so presently we by boat "to the *Charles*, which lies over against Upnor-"Castle; and there I did manage the business; the "Duke of York having, by special order, directed "them to take the assistance of Commissioner Mid-"dleton and me, forasmuch as there might be need "of advice in what relates to the government of the "ships in harbour. And so I did lay the law open "to them, and rattle the master attendants out of "their wits almost; and made the trial last till seven "at night, not eating a bit all the day. Only, when "we had done examination, and I given my thoughts, "that the neglect of the gunner of the ship was as "great as I thought any neglect could be which "might by the law deserve death; but Commissioner "Middleton did declare, that he was against giving "the sentence of death; we withdrew, as not being "of the court, and so left them to do what they "pleased. And while they were debating it, the "boatswain of the ship did bring us out of the kettle "a piece of hot salt beef, and some brown bread and "brandy; and there we did make a little meal, but "so good as I never would desire to eat better meat "while I live, only I would have cleaner dishes. "By and by they had done, and called us down from "the quarter-deck; and there we find, they do sen-

[1] See December 29th, 1668.

"tence, that the gunner of the *Defiance* should stand "upon the *Charles* three hours, with his fault written "on his breast, and with a halter about his neck, "and so be made incapable of any service. The "truth is, the man do seem, and is, I believe, a "good man; but his neglect, in trusting a girl to "carry fire into his cabin, is not to be pardoned. "This being done, we took boat, and home; and "there a good supper was ready for us, which should "have been our dinner. The captains, desirous to "be at London, went away presently for Gravesend, "to get thither by this night's tide. And so, we to "supper, it having been a great snowy and mighty "cold foul day; and so, after supper, to bed."

We have here the last characteristic portraiture of Pepys, drawn by himself; his *Diary* closing six days after, on the 31st of May. Commissioner Middleton and Pepys were summoned by Sir W. Penn, according to his instructions, being principal officers of the lord high admiral's board; not specially, as Pepys is pleased to record, for we have seen that they were included in the general list of names subjoined to the Duke of York's warrant; and certainly not to advise or lay open the law, for we have also seen, that the deputy judge-advocate was ordered to attend, to supply legal advice; but, this was Pepys' estimate of his own consequence. He shews himself to have had as ready an appetite for hanging the gunner, as for breaking his fast with salt beef, brown bread, and brandy. Fortunately for the culprit, Pepys formed a minority of 1, amongst his nu-

merous judges: such was his utility at this court-martial. His *Diary*, though it concludes here, extends as far as was material for these Memorials, which terminate in the following year.

"Peace," says Colliber,[1] "being restored to "Europe, the naval war soon transferred itself into "Africa; for, the Algerines having lately committed "some hostilities against the subjects both of Eng- "land and Holland, Sir Thomas Allen was sent with "a squadron in the year 1669, who blocked up "Algiers, taking and destroying several ships." The following account of Sir T. Allen's transactions with that state, was sent to Sir William Penn by Captain Sir William Poole, commanding the *Jersey* man-of-war in that expedition.

"On board the *Jersey*, in Algiers Bay,
the 8th Sept. 1669.[2]

"HONOURABLE SIR,

"The 1st instant, Sir Thomas Allen arrived here with ten sail of men-of-war and his fire-ships. Sir Edward Spragg, with his division, being ordered to coast it up along the Barbary shore, are not yet arrived, nor the *Centurion* and *Dartmouth*, nor the store-ship and *Welcome*. The *Constant Warwick* and *Dragon* are about their harvest, for hitherto we have heard nothing from them. Sir, it would be too prolix to trouble your honour with the several impertinent disputes our admiral had with these rude and unmannerly people, before we came to treat; and because the opportunity will

[1] Page 203.

[2] CHARNOCK, in his *Biogr. Nav.*, erroneously states, that Poole was not appointed to the *Jersey* till 1672.

not admit me to enlarge, I have here sent you a short narrative of our transactions.

"The 3d instant, Capt. Clarke and Capt. Beach were sent ashore (the divan having first sent us their *seguro*) to treat with them, who, at the first, received our people very civilly; but, because our demands touching the merchant's interest were not adjusted, (which could not be till they had conferred with our consul about them), little was done; so our friends came aboard, promising them the extent of our demands the next day.

"The 4th instant, our treaters went ashore again, furnished with plenary demands, and gave them to the divan that they might return their answer to them (as they had promised) the next day, at the grand convention of the divan; but, being impatient to know their doom, (they) caused them to be presently read, whilst our treaters were there. Our demands were, viz.

"1. To refund all the money taken out of the *Morning Star*	₱54,553
"2. To refund all goods, or value, taken out of the *Phœnix*, from Leghorn . . .	39,660
"3. To refund all goods, or value, out of the *William and Benjamin*	70,000
	164,213

"4. To surrender, without ransom, sixty-four Spaniards and their goods, taken out of the ship *John*.

"5. To make compensation to his majesty, towards his great charge in setting out this and the last fleet; which had not been done, but through their often breach of faith. Our demand was ₱450,000.

"6. That the chief instruments of violating the peace should be punished with death.

"When they had heard these read, (especially when there was so much money in the case), their worships burst out into such a passion as became men of their temper and climate, disgorging such rude and opprobrious expressions, both against our admiral and all about him, as is not fit to be repeated here; especially, when they made reflex on the charge of the fleet, to which, in great pride, they replied: 'That as England was England, so Algier was Algier, and had been so for more than one hundred years, without paying any tribute, and they were not now to begin; always holding this for a maxim, that *they had ever been learning to take, but never to pay.*'

"At the report of these, our admiral thought it not fit to adventure the captains ashore again, without hostages, amongst such uncultured people; however, next morning they went ashore to receive their final answer to our demands, leaving out the charge of the fleet; but withal to assure them, that our admiral could not extenuate one jot or tittle of the rest; with which, if they would not presently comply, he must forthwith commence a war against them; therefore required them, in compliance with the former articles of peace, to permit our consul and merchants, with their estates, to come off to us.

"At their second perusal of our demands, they thought fit to return their answer in writing to the admiral, wherein they assented to nothing of restitution; only stuffed up their paper with dilatory excuses.

"1. To the first demand, they blame Capt. Godolphin for giving away his merchants' money only for the freight of it; adding, that had he appeared then himself to demand it, they had restored every penny of it; yet, now we are here, they mention not the delivery of one penny of it to us.

"2. To the second, they say they found three women slaves of the grand seignor's aboard the *Phœnix*, intending to sell them in Christendom, notwithstanding we had then

peace both with the grand seignor and the kingdom of Algiers; whereat our bashaw here was so incensed, that he threatened to burn both the ship and mariners, and then return the slaves again to Constantinople, with an account why he did so; but, say they, the *Alla Gau* and divan persuaded him from it, desiring him to be content with making prize of the goods.

"3. To our third they replied, they found four Portuguese passengers aboard the *William and Benjamin*, who, upon their own and the master's examination, found the goods to be foreign, except some few parcels which belonged to the mate, and were restored to him.

"4. To our fourth they say, they took out the Spaniards, being sixty-four in number, because they exceeded the number of English on board the ship *John*, which were but twenty-four in all. But, pray see here how they betray their own judgments, and contradict their own articles of peace, which positively say; 'that in any bottom belonging to the king of Great Britain, if the major part of the ship's company are English, the ship, with all its passengers and goods, shall be free.' If you allow that the Spaniards did exceed the English in the *John*, yet certainly the four Portuguese were far short of the English in the *William and Benjamin;* but, when they were convinced of this, they boldly said, they must take their enemies and goods where they found them.

"5. To our fifth they made no reply; but, to the

"6. They said they would write to the King of England of our demands, and when they had his answer, would deliver up the consul.

"To conclude all, they said, they were willing to have friendship and peace with England, but it must be on reasonable terms. Hereupon Sir Thomas, seeing they aimed at nothing more than to delay us whilst their frigates came in, presently ordered out three frigates to take or destroy all vessels they should meet with belonging to Algier; and at

night we took a small bark laden with wheat. At this news, they sent to know why we took their people? and also, to renew the treaty; but Sir Thomas sent them word, he would persist as he had begun, and would not send any more ashore to treat, unless they first sent on board of him such hostages as he required; but if, at any time, they should have a mind to send off to him under a flag of truce, they might do it, he giving them his reputation for their safe return.

"Sir, I hope we shall be turned off shortly to conveying the merchant-men, for here is no good to be done. Pray, sir, remember to procure my stay abroad one of the last, that I may do something before I return. Sir John Harman, presents his humble service to you; but is not able to write, for the gout. These, with my humble service to yourself, my lady, and all your family, is all at present from, sir,

Your honour's most humble servant,

WIL. POOLE.

"Pray give my humble service to Mr. Surveyor. I intended to write to him, but the sudden departure of the ketch prevents me.

"These for the honourable Sir William Penn, knight,
at his house at Wanstead.

"To be left at Mr. William Griffins,
at the Navy Office, in
Seething Lane,
London."

"From Algiers," says Philips, the continuer of Heath, "having done little or nothing considerable, "Sir Thomas Allen set sail for Tripoli, the bashaw "of which place sent him an assurance of his readi- "ness to preserve peace and a good correspondence "with the King of Great Britain; and after a short

" cruising up and down in those seas, he returned " for Cadiz, where this year leaves him."[1]

" *The Navy Board to Sir William Penn.*

" SIR,

" By a letter from Sir Jeremy Smith, dated the 22d inst., we are told, that upon a strict examination of the books, papers, and writings left by you for him in that office whereof you lately had, and he now hath, the charge, he finds wanting those that follow; viz.

" 1. The book of pursers' accounts, collected and posted on their several heads;

" 2. The collection, or abstract, of the sick and wounded; and,

" 3. The book wherein are entered all certificates, whether allowed or not allowed.

All which have been demanded, but no satisfactory answer hath been returned; and that, without them, it will not be easy, if possible, to do right between his majesty and the purser, and to discharge the duty of that office as it ought to be. Upon this account, sir, as also in regard we are of opinion that the said books and papers do properly belong to the said office, and ought to remain there, we do hereby desire, that you will please to order their being presently looked out, and delivered to Sir Jeremy Smith; or, that you will

[1] " In the following year, 1670," says Colliber, " the Algerines continuing " obstinate, Sir Edward Spragg appeared before their capital, with a squadron " of men-of-war frigates. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at " the entrance of the haven; forced the barbarians aground, notwithstanding " the fire of the castle; burnt seven of their ships from twenty-four to thirty-" four guns, together with other prizes. These and other misfortunes caused " such a tumult among the barbarians, that they murdered their dey, and " chose another, by whom the peace was concluded to the satisfaction of the " English, on the 9th of December in the same year." (P. 204.)

please to let us have your answer hereunto in writing; that we may know what return to make to the aforesaid letter from the said Sir Jeremy. We remain,

"Your very humble servants,

(Signed) "BROUNCKER,
JO. MINNES,
T. MIDDLETON,
JEREM. SMITH,
THO. LITTLETON."

"Navy Office,
25th September, 1669."

"Sir W. Penn, &c."

"To the honoured Sir W. Penn, knt.
at his house in
Wanstead."

That Sir William Penn duly complied with the demand of the navy-board, is to be inferred from the fact, that not one official book of public accounts, or records, has remained in the possession of his representatives; the unwarrantable detention of which species of public property, by officers of boards, has caused a lamentable default of historical monuments in the archives of some of our public offices.

On Pepys' return home this autumn, from a short excursion to the continent, he found at his office the inquisitorial letter of the commissioners of accounts, of the 29th of September, already mentioned; on occasion of which, he addressed to them the following letter, on the 27th of November.

"*To the Right Hon. the Lords and others, Commissioners appointed by Parliament for taking the Accounts, &c.*

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The trouble your lordships will receive from this paper is grounded upon what (since my return into England) I find to have, in my absence, past between your lordships and the officers of the navy; touching some observations by you made upon some proceedings of theirs in reference to the late war, and the management thereof. A copy of which observations you were pleased to transmit to them by letter of the 29th of September last, and thereto received answer by like letter from the Lord Brouncker and Sir John Minnes, dated the 11th of October; wherein (submitting themselves to your further directions) they acquaint you, that of eleven persons therein enumerated (who, serving his majesty as principal officers or commissioners of the navy within the said war, seem equally concerned in your satisfaction) three only continue in present relation to this office, of which themselves, being two, were then only in town; the third (meaning me) being absent, who, as clerk of the acts, and (to use their own phrase) as a person constant at the board, was best able to give an account of the actions of the board in general.

"Which matter being considered, together with your expectations of a speedy answer; whilst, at the same time, I find it as uneasy to procure from the whole number, as these judge it unfit for so small a part as are remaining to take upon them the delivering the sense of more than themselves, in defence of matters acted so long since, in the hurry of a war, and under such difficulties as may well render the recovery of circumstances very uneasy; especially, when to be done by those who, though present, might not yet be consenting to all that may now fall under question; I have made it my care, to consider by what expedient your lordships might (without delay) receive a competent view of the satis-

faction to be expected from the officers of the navy, without prejudice to what answers more perfect you may hereafter see cause to demand from, or be offered by, the said officers, in reference to any part of their common, or distinct, duties concerned herein. And, in order hereto, reflecting upon myself, and what the abovesaid report touching my particular capacity of giving account of the general action of the board might lead your lordships to look for from me, I have employed what liberty his majesty's other services (with a sorrowful interruption otherwise happening, by the death of my wife) have spared me since my return, in putting together what I could in so little time recollect, touching the duty, debates, and acts of this board, in relation to the failures charged on them in your said observations; not neglecting therein the faithfullest helps I could obtain, either from memory, paper, or books; those only of our contracts excepted, remaining in your lordships' hands, the free perusal whereof, had your lordships thought fit to grant, might probably have administered matter for answer to such particulars as may otherwise happen not to occur.

"Which recollections having summarily digested into answers, suitable to your own method, and holding myself prepared to justify them by all fair evidences of truth, I here humbly lay them before your lordships."

(Here follows a series of *Observations* and *Answers*, occupying more than forty folio pages; and he thus concludes:)

"Thus, my lords, have I gone through with your lordships' *Observations*, and what on behalf of the officers of the navy hath occurred to me touching the truth of their demeanour in all matters contained therein. In which, though the satisfaction wherewith your lordships have been pleased to receive what I have hitherto been, on other occasions, led to present you with, might make it seem unnecessary for me to

doubt your belief of my faithfulness in this particular; yet, because a great part of those before whom this may come, are strangers to more of my demeanour in the navy than what they have collected from those exercises of my duty, to which the late inquisitions have sometimes publicly called me; and which, from their common tendency to the doing right to this office, have been so unhappy as to raise in some an apprehension of my having taken upon me the general advocateship of the management of the navy, in prevention to the endeavours on foot, of discovering what hath been amiss therein; give me leave, for my justification to such, to say; that as, in my particular, I depend not in any degree upon the issue to which the justification of the board in general can be brought, by how much they who know least of the labour of my proper place during a war, will easily discharge me from any responsibleness for what concerns the performance of others; so, I do appeal, not only to all whose occasions have made them privy to the conduct of this office, how little such a suggestion suits with my known deportment among my fellow-officers, but, to the justice also of his royal highness, whether the constancy and fervour with which I have ever laboured to discharge my duty of laying open to him what may have appeared amiss among them, with tenders of my humblest advice towards its remedy, hath not exceeded all that this paper, or aught else of my endeavours of this kind, can be thought to express, of industry or concernment in their defence.

"Which being so, I cannot doubt but my present undertaking will be found a duty doubly allowable: one, from the obligation of my place, as having the custody of those records in the absence of my fellow-officers, by which (if together) they might, with the assistance of their own better memories, have probably rendered your lordships an answer yet more perfect; and then, from that of justice, by which,

having not (as is already stated) foreborne the free discharge of my duty in what I have apprehended calling for amendment, I could not hold myself excusable in the not asserting (in the manner I have done) what in their absence I conceived due to them in the matters here in question.

"To shut up, then, your lordships' present trouble, you will be pleased to allow me liberty of leaving with your lordships this paper, as the result of what my faithfullest recollections could yet direct me to tender you in behalf of those gentlemen,* whose present separation prevents me delivering it in any other name than that of *My private Essay towards their General Answer:* submitting to your lordships the choice of your own method of gathering your satisfactions from the rest, either by their concurrence to some common, or their tender of distinct answers.

*Lord Berkeley.
Sir G. Carteret.
Sir W. Coventry.
Sir Jo. Minnes.
Sir W. Batten.
Sir W. Penn.
Commissioner Pett.
Mr. Pepys.
Lord Brouncker.
Sir Tho. Hervey.
E. of Anglesey.

"In which latter, as the nature of my employment, and the method of its execution, entitle me to a defence therein, not applicable to the rest of the board; so, upon which of those two soever your lordships shall think to pitch, such, my lords, is my assurance both of your justice and my own unblameableness, as to think myself safe, even in the unbespeaking all favour, in what shall have reference to my particular.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Your lordships' most humble and most faithful servant,

"Navy Office, Nov. 27th, 1669. "S. PEPYS."

Receiving no acknowledgment of this letter from the commissioners, nor any notice of its contents,

Pepys addressed to them, on the 6th of January following, a second letter, which will appear in its order of the date.[1]

[1] Both these letters, with the "Observations and Answers" accompanying the first, will be found in the British Museum among the Ascough MSS., marked No. 2751. The book containing them, was a copy made by Pepys' direction for presentation to the Duke of York; and it is headed with a letter from Pepys to his royal highness, subscribed with Pepys' signature in autograph.

1670.

January 3d, 1669-70.—Died, after a tedious illness of twelve months, George Monk, duke of Albemarle. The following account of his death is given in the funeral sermon of his right reverend and zealous friend, Seth Ward, lord bishop of Salisbury:

"For the last seven years (at least) of his life," says that earnest prelate, "I had the honour and happiness of a free conversation with him. Towards his latter days (especially since bodily infirmity began to prevail upon him), my addresses were more frequent than before. When I had opportunity, I waited on him in the country: when I perceived the approaches of death, I attended him carefully and often. I was with him in his *agonies;* I assisted in his last Christian offices; I heard his last words, and his dying groan: *Uti imperatorem decuit,* I saw him *die erect* in his chair; and lastly, I had the honour to close his eyes. This I speak, not to boast of the particular honour which he was pleased to do me (his conversation was universally such, towards all mankind, humble, easy, and familiar; I am persuaded that hardly any man did ever exceed him in this part of the greatness of his mind; he was ἀνὴρ τετράγωνος, the self-same person in every position; never depressed, never elated by his fortune); but, I mention these particulars only *ad faciendam fidem.* As he was not an ordinary person, so his trial was not the ordinary trial of men; it was not in outward matters, but in his body; his plague was the plague of the heart, without a metaphor: I saw his heart opened, and, upon sight of what was there, it was generally concluded, that there was the seat of the distemper whereof he died. His visitations were tedious and long; in twelve months' space, he very seldom slept or took

any rest within his bed, but suffered all that while an internal painful strangulation.

" He bore all this with an heroic patience and meekness, without murmuring or complaining; ' *as a lamb that is dumb, so opened he not his mouth.*' He would not indeed hasten his release, but he rejoiced when he saw it coming. About three days before his death, he foretold the time of it plain enough, with joy and satisfaction. Two days before it, he told me, ' That no man in England (that was his word) was more willing or more desirous to die than himself. That he had discharged his conscience to God, his king, and his country. That he hoped he had left his son settled in a good condition, and that God had a blessing for him. And he hoped that he (himself) had made his salvation sure.'

" The evening before his death he said, several times, that that day had been better than any of the former, and that the next day he should be better than he had been in all his life. From whence we all concluded, that the next day would be the day of his departure, which happened accordingly; for, about nine of the clock in the next morning (soon after he had been recommended to God in the prayers and offices of the church), he fell into a short agony of the duration of about two or three minutes; he gave one inward groan, and, a little subsiding in his chair, he gently and placidly yielded up the ghost."

No one can wish to impair this tribute of reverential friendship and ecclesiastical gratitude; especially, after its author had judiciously premised, " In all I " have spoken, or shall speak concerning him, I would " not be understood to pretend, that he was exempt " from human failings and infirmities: *Quisque suos* " *patimur manes.*" Let Monk's memory be enriched with every honour to which it has a just title; but let

not the memory of others be despoiled of their rightful honours to cumulate that of Monk beyond the measure of its due pretensions. Yet this, the same learned prelate, with a host of his contemporaries, has not refrained from doing: "By his courage and "his prudence," says the too-zealous bishop, "himself (*at first alone* in the design), without any confidents or *correspondents*, being then in an unsure "conquered country, friendless, moneyless, unarmed, "and unprovided; taking to him the help of a few "*cold-streamers*, in the compass of a few weeks, "without the expense of one drop of blood, he "scattered the invincible armies and armadoes of "the rebellious, which had so long subjugated these "nations, and made themselves terrible to their "neighbours. He reduced into obedience all the "cities, forts, armies, *navies*, magazines, of England, "Scotland, *Ireland*, and our foreign plantations." This predatory method of eulogising Monk has had a long reign; but it may no longer continue unopposed. Monk had nothing to do with the navy, or with Ireland; or with the foreign plantations, which willingly followed the example of the mother country. We have seen, that Lawson with the fleet, and Broghill and Coote, in Munster and Ulster, accomplished severally and independently those services which are here falsely ascribed to Monk; and, unless they had accomplished them,—unless Lawson, and his seamen in the river, had forced the officers of the army to yield, and had replanted the Rump, as the root or stock for the regermination of the Long Parliament,

whilst Monk was distant in that "unsure conquered "country," he could hardly have contemplated, certainly he could never have consummated, a short and bloodless work, in the narrow arena of Westminster. *Fiat justitia.* In the regeneration of the kingdom, Monk, however great and eminent his share, was but a *partner;* that which was all his own, and of which his memory claims the exclusive honour, was the regeneration of a genuine British army. In that important achievement, he had no compeer; and, to that great work we are indebted for the restoration of the two gallant services to harmony of principle, and mutuality of respect and esteem: an effect, which never issued in results so abundant, so important, and so honourable and glorious to both services, as in the late long and tremendous war.

6*th.*—Pepys wrote his second letter to the commissioners of accounts: viz.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Your lordships' silence to what I (now some weeks since) presented you with, relating to the common defence of this office, joined with what hath lately come to my notice, touching your acceptance of separate answers on the same subject, from some particular members thereof; leads me to the thinking it seasonable for me, to put into your lordships' hands something of what may hereafter come more amply to you in right of myself: the distinct duty of which place, as clerk of the acts, being not to be denied to have shared in the increase of trouble occasioned by a war, equal at least to that of any of my fellows, especially those of them who, standing charged with little of the active, were at more leisure to

attend only the consultive part of the office. I cannot conceive any person conversant in the business thereof will scruple to allow the well-executing my single share therein, for a task sufficient to exercise the best industry of one man, without the additional charge of an accountableness for the reasons and actions of others.

"To give your lordships, therefore, a summary account of the method wherein I have, in my particular place, endeavoured to discharge my duty to his majesty, both in the diligence of my attendance on it, the effects of my performance of it, and uprightness in both, give me leave to say:

"1. That for what respects my diligence, as no concernments relating to my private fortune, pleasure, or health, did at any time (even under the terror of the plague itself[1]) divide me one day and night from my attendance on the business of the place, so was I never absent at any public meeting of the board, but upon the special commands of the lord high admiral, and that not *thrice* during the whole *three years* of the war. To which let me add, that in my endeavours after a full performance of my duty, I have neither made distinction of days between those of rest and others, nor of hours between them of day and night; being less acquainted, during the whole war, with the closing my day's work before midnight, than after it.[2]

[1] If they had, he must have lost his place; and, in remaining at his post, he did no more than all other office-men, even the Duke of Albemarle himself. People became as much familiarised with the plague then, as with the cholera now.

[2] If the official admiralty services of Mr. Marsden and Sir Evan Nepean, in the late universal war of *twenty years*, were brought before the observation of the world, accompanied with all the masses of official documents and records confided to their trust, their gigantic proportions would considerably more than equally divide the wonder called for on those of Pepys. It is known, though not bruited, that, *during the four* most arduous years of that long naval war (from 1803 to 1807), the first of those able and zealous public servants did not sleep out of the walls of the Admiralty *one single night.*

" And, that your lordships may not conceive this to arise from any vain assumption of what may be grounded more upon the inability of others to disprove, than my own capacity to justify, such have ever been my apprehensions both of the duty and importance of my just attendance on his majesty's service, that among the many thousands under whose observation my employment must have placed me, I challenge any man to assign one day, from my first admission to this service in July 1660, to the determination of the war, August 1667, (being a complete apprenticeship), of which I am not this day able, upon oath, to give an account of the particular manner of my employing the same.[1]

" 2. That although this resignation of my whole time and strength to the service of his majesty might, in other cases, be admitted for the equallest method of rating my performances; and albeit that other, by which alone your lordships seem inclined to measure the same, namely, the exactness of their conformity to, and compliance with, the ancient instructions of the lord high admiral, calculated for a time of peace and small action, will not (I conceive), either in the reason, practicableness, or intention thereof, be, upon examination, insisted upon, as such, during a war; yet, to the end that when your lordships shall find me reasonably urging the same on behalf of the board in general, you may not apprehend me interested in the benefit of that argument, from any use I have to make of it in reference to my particular, to whom the meanest article of a navy-officer's duty ever seemed of too much moment to be left unexecuted, without the com-

[1] " None in England," says Evelyn, " exceeded him in *knowledge of the* " *navy*, in which he had passed through all the most considerable offices, clerk " of the acts and secretary of the Admiralty." (26th May, 1703.) As he certainly did not possess that knowledge by intuition, and was as certainly destitute of it when he first entered the Admiralty, where and how did he acquire its first rudiments? However accurate the memory of his mind might be, he had not the memory of the heart.

munication of it, and the reasons thereof, to the lord high admiral; let it not be thought ostentation for me to own the result of my humble labours in his majesty's service, by pretending to the having strictly answered every part of those Instructions incumbent on myself; and that, in such method as to be willing to submit the same (while under the most tumultuous difficulties of a war) to be compared with, and censured by, what can be found of most methodical in any of my predecessors, during the most leisurely times of peace; though (to say more) your lordships shall, at the same time, find the work of my place to have exceeded, by little less than a tenfold proportion, that of my predecessors in the busiest time of their war. Wherein your lordships are humbly referred to the written evidences of both, now extant.

" And yet, that after having thus acquitted myself in my particular duty, I may not be found unmindful of what your lordships seem to expect from each member in the justification of the acts of the whole; I shall take upon me further to say, that though the fulness of my proper employment may (I doubt not) be reasonably offered in defence of my necessary concurrence with others in matters foreign thereto; yet, forasmuch as, through the frequent absences of my fellow-officers during the late war (and that sometimes for weeks together), hundreds of letters and warrants have, for the dispatch of his majesty's service, been necessarily issued under my single hand and advice, I shall alone undertake for every such act; without the support of any defence for the possible imperfections thereof, deducible from my want of their advice who stood equally obliged to an attendance with me on the same.

" Nay, further, forasmuch as though, in the quality of my employment, it hath, in an especial manner, been esteemed my part to subscribe to the determinations of the board, it may have so happened, that my advice hath nevertheless taken place in matters where one only of my fellow-officers

may with myself have been present at the debate; I am contented also to stand personally accountable for every such act of this office, vouched but by one hand more than my own; leaving to your lordships, the considering how far you will expect the like from me in cases where I shall be found subscribing only to the resolutions of a greater number, and those, either by the nature or leisure of their proper places, more concerned for, and better instructed to guide the board then, and justify it now, in the reasonableness of the same.

"3. That as I expect not that either my diligence or best performance should be held worthy owning, otherwise than as they are accompanied with integrity to my master, and fair dealing towards those whom his service hath led me to have to do with; so I do, with good assurance, defy the whole world to allege one instance to the prejudice of the same; having the comfort of being able to affirm, that my conscience, in its strictest retrospection, charges me not with any wilful declension from my duty, either in the faithfulness of my deportment therein, or care of rendering it the least expenseful to his majesty; the execution of my place (under the utmost pressure of the war, and the necessary increase of charge attending it,) being to be found of less cost to his majesty by one-half, than any other branch of the work of this office, or what (by the necessary latitude given me with the rest of my fellows on that behalf) I might without censure have rendered my own to have been, and thereby not only gratified myself with a greater leisure of attending my private concernments, but prevented that untimely ruin of my eyes by the constancy of their night-services during the war, which renders the remainder of my life of much less content or use to me, than can be supplied by any other satisfaction than what flows from the consideration of that duty to his majesty to which I sacrificed them.

"And, as to my behaviour towards others, in reference to those gratifications which both practice and the quality of my

place might justify an expectation and acceptance of, when (by the direction of the lord high admiral, or the board,) employed in matters of lawful favour to private men; especially, while the trust and burthen of my place falling short of none of my fellows, no other reason, than the consideration of such advantages incident thereto, has been ever assigned for that difference of encouragement current amongst us, by which the wages of the clerk of the acts stands inferior, not only to what attends the lowest of his fellow-officers, but to the avowed profits of some of their servants; I shall, with the same openness and truth wherewith your lordships have in every other matter (relating no less to myself than others) found me ready to assist your inquiries, humbly say:

"1. That from the first hour of my serving his majesty in this employment, I did never, to this day, directly or indirectly, demand or express any expectation of fee, gratuity, or reward from any person, for any service therein by me done, or to be done him.

"2. That no gratuity, though voluntarily offered, hath ever met with my acceptance, when I found not the affair to which it did relate accompanied with the doing right, or advantage, to his majesty.

"3. That the sums wherein I stand at this day in disburse, on occasions wholly relative to the execution of my said employment during the war, and which (amounting to four hundred pounds) my fellow-officers have, in their respective places, either not at all known, or been reimbursed the same from his majesty, do far exceed whatever profits have accrued to me from my said employment within that whole time.

"4. Lastly, That I have, in this place, been in general so little solicitous in the study of my private fortune, as to own with fullest and most humble thankfulness the favours and bounties of his majesty to me, under my low endeavours therein; though, in exchange for ten years' service, and those

the most valuable of my life for such improvements, *I find not my estate at this day bettered by one thousand pounds, from all the profits, salary, and other advantages arising from the said employment, beyond what it was known to be at my admission thereto.*

"Into the truth of all which, I do not only invite, but pray your lordships to exercise your strictest inquisitions; being ready to justify the same, not only by oath, but by a double retribution of every penny or penny's-worth of advantage I shall be found to have received, either in manner or value different from what I have here declared.

"Which leaving with your lordships, as an *Appendix* in my own right to what you have already received from me in behalf of the board in general, and submitting both to your disposal, I remain,

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Your lordships' most humble and most faithful servant,

"S. PEPYS."

"Navy Office, January 6th, 1669 (70.)"

When we consider, that this copious letter of justification is grounded, not on any charge, but solely and expressly on the silence of the commissioners of accounts, it does appear a very gratuitous effort of self-defence and self-commendation. The commiseration which it plainly sought to inspire, will probably be thought by the reader to have been altogether forfeited, by Pepys' previous conduct to Sir W. Penn: when a man has no feeling for the case of another, but cries out lustily in his own similar case, Justice arrests Pity, and gives her in charge to Reflection. How Pepys' uncalled-for declaration, to the

commissioners of public accounts, of his own private finances, can be brought into harmony with the secret confessions published from his *Diary;* how he could come into office in July 1660; in January 1661 "find himself in a handsome and thriving condition;" the 31st of December of that year be "worth about "500*l.* clear in the world;" in October 1663, 715*l.*; in December 1665, "find, to his great joy, that "he had raised his estate in this year from 1300*l.* "to 4400*l.*;" in March 1666, express his doubts to Coventry, whether "his services deserved such "an income as that he had now come to;" in December 1666, "find himself worth in money, all "good, above 6200*l.*, which is above 1800*l.* more "than the last year;" have received voluntary gratuities, where "he thought it was accompanied with "the doing right, or advantage to his majesty;" in July 1667, refuse 1000*l.* for his share of prize-money; in 1669, be noted for the fineness of his coach-horses and his gold-laced sleeves; and yet, in 1670, "not "be bettered in his estate by 1000*l.*, from all the "profits, salary, or other advantages arising from his "employment, from what it was at his admission "thereto;"—are points which I leave to be reconciled, or explained, by others.

The following, is the latest letter of professional concernment that I find amongst Sir William Penn's papers:

" *These, for the Hon. Sir W. Penn, Knt. &c. At his house at Wanstead, near London.*

" HONOURABLE SIR, " Livorno, June 2d, 1670.

" I have now careened the *Jersey*, and almost sheathed her, for I never saw any ship in such a condition, under water, since I knew the sea. It is a great argument of Mr. Byland's neglect of her, when she was in the dock; for, from the keel six or seven strokes upwards, there was scarce a piece of sheathing on her; and such a ragged keel (having lost a great part of her false one), that it was an admiration to me, how the ship could either work or sail. I have now patched her as well as I could, but could not mend the keel. However, I presume, as to her bottom, she is fitter for a voyage than when I came out of England. In the careening of her, I met with a small disaster (and heartily thank God it was no greater); for, (in) careening the ship, some sparks of fire (being somewhat windy) flying upwards, lodged in an old knot 'twixt the cheek and the mainmast, and there lay undiscovered by any, till it first broke out into a smoke, then into a flame on both sides of the mast, just under the lashings of the blocks, by which we heaved down. Hereupon, I ordered my people to cut away all the lashings, that the fire might not catch the shrouds. After this, I was forced to cut the cheek in pieces to come at the fire (which burned inwardly) to quench it. If this had not been done, I must have cut out my mast by the board, to secure the ship. I am now going to Pisa for a piece of timber to make another cheek, to secure my mast, for this place affords none; and I hope to repair all my damage under 20*l.* sterling. I shall be ready to sail, as soon as my mast is fixed again, towards Naples or Messina, if the ships in those parts prevent me not by their sudden arrival here.

" The Lord Ambassador Fauconberg this day departed for Florence, whither most of our nation go to attend on him;

and so would I, if the main-mast were not in my way. Lieut. Keene presents his humble service to you and my lady, which, I beseech you, accept of from,

"Your honour's most humble servant,

"WIL. POOLE.

"My cousin, Richard Penn,[1] is very well, and goes to Florence with Sir Thomas Clutterbuck, to wait on the ambassador."

From the beginning of this year, Sir W. Penn's decaying health confined him entirely to his residence at Wanstead. On the 27th of April, his son-in-law, Mr. Lowther, wrote to him from his seat at Mask, in Yorkshire, to inform him of an advantageous purchase to be made of an estate in that county, within twenty miles of his own residence. In December of the preceding year, Sir William had thus written to his son, then in Cork; "You would do well to try if "any of the tenants will buy the inheritance of the "lands they hold, for I do much rather incline to an "estate of land here, than there." But he could hardly have received Mr. Lowther's letter, when two days after its date, on the 29th of April, he wrote again to his son, who was still in the county of Cork, saying; "I wish you had well done all your business "there, for I find myself to decline."

The fore-warnings which he experienced, were not deceptious. His son repaired to England; but, the gratification and comfort which he had antici-

[1] Sir W. Penn's second and youngest son, who survived his father only three years. He died in April 1673, and is buried at Walthamstow.

pated from that return were grievously interrupted and disturbed, in consequence of the prominence which his son had sought and acquired in his new fraternity, the Society of Friends, or Quakers. "In this "year, 1670," says the son's biographer, "came "forth the *Conventicle Act*, prohibiting dissenters' "meetings, under severe penalties. The edge of "this new weapon was presently turned upon the "Quakers, who, not accustomed to flinch in the "cause of religion, stood most exposed. Being "forcibly kept out of their meeting-house in Grace-"church Street, they met as near it in the street as "they could; and William Penn, there preaching, "was apprehended, and by warrant from Sir Samuel "Stirling, then lord mayor of London, dated August "the 14th, 1670, committed to Newgate, and at the "next session of the Old Bailey was (together with "William Mead) indicted for being present at, and "preaching to, an *unlawful, seditious*, and *riotous* "*assembly*. At his trial, he made a brave defence, dis-"covering at once both the free spirit of an English-"man, and the undaunted magnanimity of a Christian; "insomuch, that maugre the most partial frowns and "menaces of the bench, the jury acquitted him. "The trial itself, with a preface and appendix there-"unto, was soon after published."[1] It took place during the sessions held at the Old Bailey, on the 1st, 3d, 4th, and 5th, of September. His father's health, which had been declining rapidly throughout the summer, was now on the point of failing him

[1] It will be found among the State Trials.

altogether. His disappointment, and the various conflicting feelings put in action by his son's imprisonment and persecution, could not but tend to hasten its decay. Though he was deeply grieved at the course which his son had chosen to pursue, he was sensible of his excellence, admired his qualities, and was indignant at his persecutors. In the few days that he survived after his son's liberation, he had the comfort of receiving, both from the king and Duke of York, the most gracious and kind assurances of their regard, and their promise of continuing the same to his son; a promise, which both those princes religiously observed. At length, on the 16th of the same month of September, he sunk under his infirmities; and expired, worn out by his public services, at the age of forty-nine years and five months. His last moments are thus recorded by his son.

"My father, after (nearly) thirty years' employment, with good success, in divers places of eminent trust and honour in his own country, upon a serious reflection, not long before his death, spoke to me in this manner: 'Son William, I am weary of the world; I would not live over my days again, if I could command them with a wish; for, the snares of life are greater than the fear of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God, that hath followed me to this day. Oh, have a care of sin; that is the sting both of life and of death. Three things I commend unto you. First, let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience; so you will keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in a day of trouble. Secondly, whatever you design to do, lay it justly, and time it seasonably, for that gives security and dispatch. Lastly, be not troubled at disappointments; for, if

they may be recovered, do it; if they can't, trouble is vain. If you could not have helped it, be content; there is often peace and profit in submitting to Providence, for afflictions make wise. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed your instruction for another time. These rules will carry you, with firmness and comfort, through this uncertain world.' At another time, he inveighed against the profaneness and impiety of the age; often crying out, with an earnestness of spirit, 'Wo to thee, O England! God will judge thee, O England! Plagues are at thy door, O England!' He much bewailed, 'That divers men in power, and many of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, were grown so dissolute and profane;' often saying, 'God hath forsaken us; we are infatuated; we will shut our eyes; we will not see our true interests and happiness; we shall be destroyed:' apprehending the consequences of the growing looseness of the age to be our ruin, and that the methods most fit to serve the kingdom with true credit, at home and abroad, were too much neglected; the trouble of which did not a little help to feed his distemper, which drew him daily nearer to his end; and, as he believed it, so, less concerned and disordered I never saw him at any time, of which I took good notice. Wearied to live, as well as near to die, he took his leave of us; and of me, with this expression, and a most composed countenance: 'Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests[1] to the end of the

[1] "Much discourse," says Pepys, 16th Feb. 1668, "about the bad state of "the church, and how the clergy are come to be men of no worth in the world; "and, as the world do now generally discourse, they must be reformed: and I "believe the hierarchy will in a little time be shaken, whether they will or no; "the king being offended with them and set upon it, as I hear." The triumph of the ecclesiastics of that generation, was too much in unison with that of the lay-cavaliers, and was indulged with a secular spirit of persecution, which happily subsided with the generation itself; and at length left the church of

world. Bury me by my mother: live all in love; shun all manner of evil; and I pray God to bless you all, and he will bless you.'"

It had been the king's intention to raise Sir William Penn to an higher honour, by the title of the borough which he represented in parliament; but, his son having embraced the persuasion of the Society of Quakers, and having, in 1668, in his work entitled, "No Cross, no Crown," published an express and vehement disclaimer of all titles of honour, through the religious principles of his new persuasion, that stream of royal favour was stemmed. In that work, he largely assigns "the reasons why he, and the "people with whom he walks in religion, decline "giving gaudy titles, and refuse the present use of "these customs; and cannot esteem titles, such as "these, *most excellent, most sacred, your grace, your* "*lordship,* &c., being prohibited by God, his Son, "and servants, in days past."[1] To this point he alluded, in a letter written some years after, (the 5th of the 10th month, 1682), from the new town of Chester, in his infant province of Pennsylvania: "It "is more than a *worldly title or patent* that hath "clothed me in this place; nor am I sitting down in "a *greatness that I have denied.* Had I sought "greatness, I had stayed at home; where the differ- "ence between what I am here, and was offered

England, (to which Sir William Penn always adhered, notwithstanding the expression of irritation here provoked), to the operation of its own mild and moderate principles.

[1] Chap. ix. sec. 31, &c.

" and could have had there, is as wide as the " places are."[1]

The following are extracts from Sir William Penn's will:

" In the name of God: Amen!—I, Sir William Penn, of London, knight, being of perfect mind and memory, do make this my last will and testament, this twentieth day of January, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred sixty and nine, (1669-70), and in the one-and-twentieth year of our sovereign lord, Charles the Second, &c. &c. &c. My soul, I humbly recommend into the merciful hands of my ever blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, beseeching him that, through his merits, I may be made partaker of life eternal. My body, I commit to the grave, to be buried in the parish church of Redclyffe, within the city of Bristol, as near unto the body of my dear mother deceased (whose body lies there interred) as the same conveniently may be. And my will is, that there shall be erected in the said church, as near unto the place where my body shall be buried as the same can be contrived, a handsome and decent tomb, to remain as a monument, as well for my said mother as for myself, the charges thereof to be defrayed by my executor hereafter

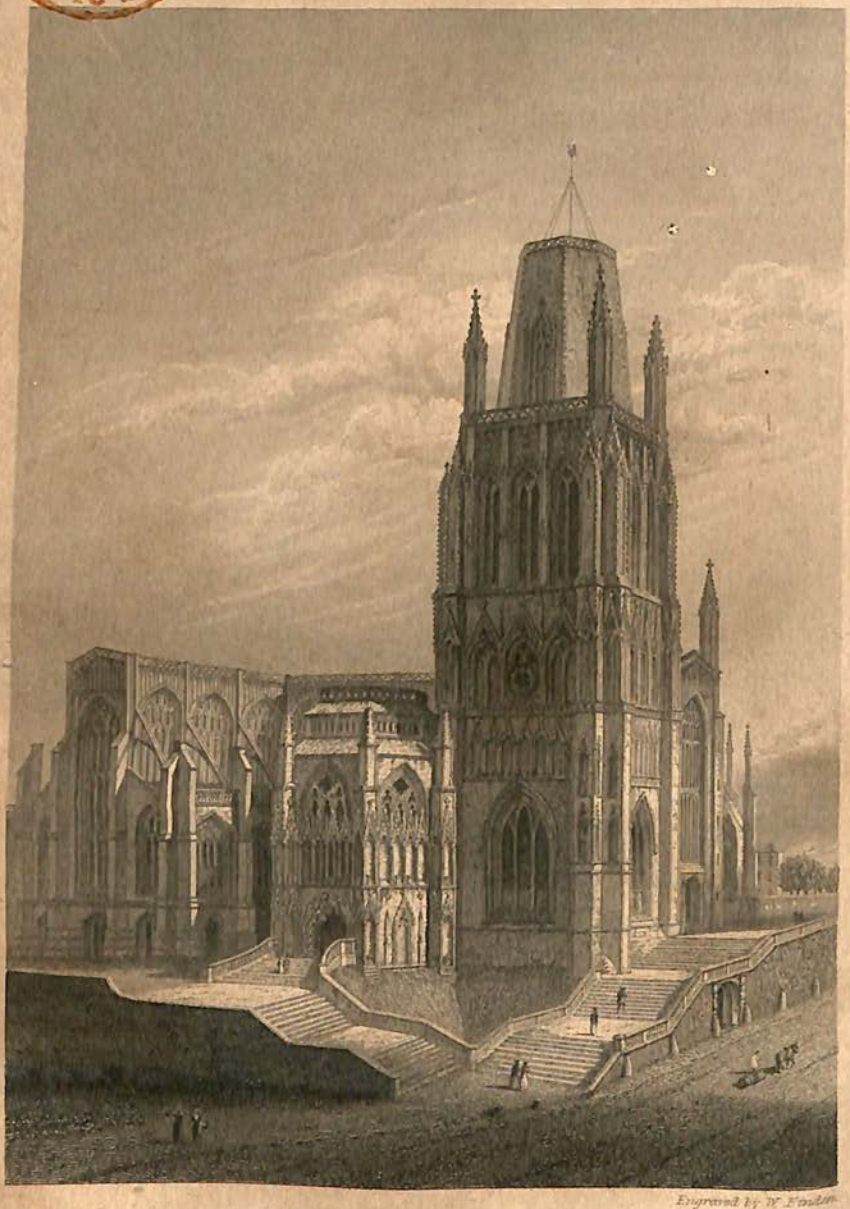
[1] Works, Life, fol. vol. i. p. 124; 8vo, vol. i. p. 86. CLARKSON'S Life of W. Penn, vol. i. pp. 351, 352. Mr. Clarkson, not being aware of the allusion in the first sentence, has omitted it in his extract from this letter. During the years 1768–70, when Viscount Weymouth was secretary of state for the plantations, the late Mr. Thomas Penn, last surviving son of the Quaker (my father), often observed in his family, that, in transacting the business of his province with that noble lord, he could rarely avoid the reflection, that if his father had not been a Quaker, he should have borne the title then borne by the noble secretary. It is certain, that the title of Weymouth did not issue from the crown until after the execution of the grant of the province of Pennsylvania, as its equivalent, in 1680; which province was erected, by its charter, into a *Seignory*, and the grant made to rest on the same ground on which the title would have stood; viz. " *The Merits of Sir William Penn in divers ser-* " *vices*," &c.—See above, page 359.

named, out of my personal estate. And as for and concerning my personal estate, I do hereby devise the same as followeth: and first, I do will and devise unto my dear wife, Dame Margaret Penn, to be paid unto her immediately after my decease, the sum of three hundred pounds sterling, together with all my jewels, other than what I shall hereinafter particularly devise. And I do also give and bequeath unto my said dear wife, the use and occupation, during her life, of one full moiety of all my plate and household stuff, &c. &c., as I shall happen to have at the time of my decease.

"I do also will and devise unto my eldest son, William Penn, my *Gold Chain and Medal*,[1] with the rest and residue of all my plate, household stuff, &c., not herein before devised, &c. And I do hereby constitute and declare, nominate and appoint, my said son William, sole executor of this my last will and testament, &c.

"And though I cannot apprehend that any differences can fall out or happen between my said dear wife and my said son William, after my decease, in relation to any thing by me devised or limited by this my will, or in relation to any other matter or thing whatsoever; yet, in case any such differences should arise, I do hereby request and desire, and, as far as in me lieth, require, conjure, and direct my said dear wife and my said son William, by all the obligations of duty, affection, and respect which they have, and ought to have, to me and my memory, that all such differences, of what nature or kind soever they shall be, by the joint consent and submission of my said dear wife and my said son William, be at all times, and from time to time, referred to the arbitration, and final judgment and determination, of

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 518. His gold chain and medal remain with his family. An engraving of the medal is given in Vertue's Collection of the Works of Simon, the eminent artist who executed it, facing page 27; a correct engraving of the same is also published, as a frontispiece, in one of the volumes of CHARNOCK'S *Biographia Navalis*.



Engraved by W. Fowler.

THE CHURCH OF ST MARY, REDCLIFFE.

BRISTOL.

London, Published 1823, by James Duncan, Paternoster Row.

my worthy friend, Sir WILLIAM COVENTRY, of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex; whom I do hereby entreat to take upon himself the determination of all and every such difference and differences, as shall from time to time, or at any time after my decease, be referred unto him by my said dear wife and my said son, William Penn; for the total prevention of all suits in law or equity, which, upon any occasion or misunderstanding, might otherwise happen between them."[1]

His remains were conveyed, according to his directions, to his native city, Bristol, and were honourably interred in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe,[2] where his flags and trophies are still carefully preserved, and where his monument records, briefly and chronologically, the dates of his several commissions and appointments, both under the parliament and under the king. The following account of his funeral, from a document preserved in the Heralds' College, shews the averseness of the high cavalier party of that day to honour, or recognise, even professional merit, displayed during the suspension of the crown.

"*To Captain Robert Challoner,*

Lancaster Herald.

"SIR,

"This day, Sir William Penn was interred in this city, at Ratcliffe Church. The manner of the solemnity was thus:

[1] Sir William Coventry survived his friend sixteen years, and died at Somerhill, near Tunbridge-Wells, on the 24th of June, 1686, aged sixty. His remains were interred in the neighbouring parish-church of Penshurst.

[2] "Redcliffe Church, Bristol," observes the author of the Antiquities of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, "is, as Leland calls it, 'by far the most 'beautiful of all churches—*ecclesiarum omnium longe pulcherrima;*' and, as "Camden, 'the most elegant of all parish-churches that I have ever seen—

After three or four companies of foot were passed, there were carried three large streamers, with his arms quartered therein (as I suppose); next to that, the crest of his coat, and his helmet; next to that his shield and gauntlets; and then came the corpse, drawn with six horses: and at his head a red flag (as one of the generals in Oliver's days, as it is said),[1] and a blue flag of the one side, and a white flag of the other, according to the ships and squadrons he had served in, for the parliament, or for his majesty since his restoration: but, whether these could be carried? I know not neither: all which, I believe, are to be hanged up in the church. A herald painter came down with the hearse; but he brought no license or deputation with him from Sir Edward Birch or Sir Edward Walker, as Sir E. Birch's deputy here told me. And now, having given you this account thereof; if he hath done more than can be justified, you may improve it as you see cause, concealing my name. Howbeit, my thoughts are, it is not right; nor could those flags be carried by one who had been against his majesty. I hope a line or two by the next, whether it was rightly managed or no.[2] And, with my sincere service, I remain,

"Sir, &c.

"College Green, in Bristol,
September 30th, 1670."

"Ri. Ellsworth."

'*ecclesarium omnium parochialium, quas unquam vidi, elegantissima.*'" The annexed representation of Redcliffe Church is copied, by the kind permission of Mr. Britton, from one of the plates in his full and interesting account of that grand sacred structure.

[1] Sir W. Penn was entitled to the *red* flag, without any reference to the time of the Interregnum, from having served as sub-commander to the Duke of York, in the red squadron, in June 1665.

[2] In a letter from Sir W. Penn's widow to her son, dated the 9th October, 1670, she says; "The man is returned from Bristol, and set up his monument "very well. My cousin Deighton writes; 'The man that set it up tells me, 'the sergeant-at-arms would pull it down again.' I suppose, because he had "not his fee. If there be any due to him, I know not; pray let me hear as "soon as you can." The threat was not attempted to be carried into execution.

Sir W. Penn's public character, is thus briefly summed up by his son. "I had so little reason to "doubt my father's constancy, that I know few of "greater. 'Tis true, he was actually engaged both "under the parliament and king, but not as an actor "in our late domestic troubles; his compass always "steering him to eye a national concern, and not "intestine wars, and therefore not so aptly their's "(the parliament's), in a way of opposition, as the "nation's. His service, therefore, being wholly fo- "reign to these (domestic troubles), he may be truly "said, to serve his country. How far he was a "master of his art, both as a general and a seaman, "I leave to the observation of his friends, his own "constant success, and what hereafter may come to "public view of his remarks."[1] A general epitome of his professional career will be found in Appendix M of this work, drawn up by one who knew him throughout the most eventful passages of its course.[2]

"Sir William Coventry," says Clarendon, "never

[1] I find nothing remaining that can answer the expectation which this sentence is calculated to raise.

[2] A short and imaginative biography of William Penn, the son (by M. L. Weems), printed in Philadelphia in 1822, has the following passage respecting Sir William Penn:

"He was a man, in many respects, of a noble heart; and, for a sailor, un- "commonly devout, as would appear, among many other still better proofs, "from the following epitaph, written by himself, on one of his unfortunate "sailors, who, drowned with many others on the coast of Deal, was picked up, "and buried in the churchyard near that place.

"The boisterous winds and raging seas
Have tost me to and fro;
But spite of these, by God's decrees,
I harbour here below:

" paid a civility to any worthy man, but as it was a " disobligation to another whom he cared less for.' This accusation fortunately defeats itself by its splenetic and ridiculous extravagance, and by the undisguised complexion of reckless passion which it exposes. In the same mood he says; " Penn was disobliging to the courtiers." He neither describes the deportment which he meant, nor the parties whom he intended by the vague term of courtiers. The crown, not the court—the king, not the courtiers—was the object of Sir William Penn's attention: when the interests of these last were truly identified with those of the king and country, he ever held them in respect; but if they pursued, personally or officially, any interest distinct from these, he had no ambition to obtain their favour. If the character, thus broadly assigned to him by Clarendon, had truly pertained to him, it is most certain that he would never have gained the society, much less the friendship and the intimacy, of the Duke of Ormonde, the very cynosure of the British Court.

His letters to his son, in Ireland, of which many remain, are almost wholly filled with instructions respecting his estates; yet, among these, some few passages occur which tend to shew his mind and disposition. In one of these letters, he felt himself

" Where, safe at anchor, I do ride
With many of our fleet;
In hope, one day, again to weigh,
GREAT ADMIRAL CHRIST to meet."

I can say nothing as to the authenticity of these lines, having never seen them elsewhere, and the biographer citing no authority for them.

constrained to express himself thus: "There is "one dirty expression in your letter, which I cannot "let slip; it is, 'that this answer may serve others 'more ignorant, but not himself, that is more know-'ing.' Now, what is this, but to say, that I designed "unfair dealing? But I challenge him, and all man-"kind with whom I have had dealing, to charge "such a thing upon me." The kindness of his nature may be inferred from the following letter:

"Son William,

"The bearer is Major Rowse, one of my tenants in Eniskelly; I desire you afford him all the Irish favour in your power, and that you continue him my tenant at as easy terms for him as conveniently you may. If any of the king's ships are at Kinsale, or Cork, &c., and he hath occasion for convoy, write to the commander to afford it him. I am

"Your affectionate father,

"Navy Office, May 5th, (66.) W. P."

That he was exceedingly disturbed and mortified, for a time, by his son's conversion to Quakerism, is true; and, what father would not be confounded at witnessing the first ominous transition from "*your "dutiful son,*" to "*thy dutiful son;*" a change, certainly devoid of any apparent reason, virtue, or necessity whatsoever? Sad and pathetic accounts have been published, by members of the son's persuasion, to add the imposing character of religious persecution to his conversion; but I have now by me letters he received from his father in the years 1666, 7, 9, and 70, in all which, I find but one passage expressive of offence, which is this: "If you are

" ordained to be another cross to me, God's will " must be done; and I shall arm myself the best I " can against it." This is dated 6th October, 1669. That, for a short time, he refused to see his son, as an experiment, (which, of course, kept him from his father's house,) appears to be certain; and this has been described, as his being turned out of doors. But, if the feelings of the father were quick, his heart was warm; and the tenderness of his paternal affection soon extinguished all sense of offence, where he knew that he was met by a filial affection equally tender; and when he became sensible, that the cause of the offence he had received, consisted in a most singular combination of qualities of the highest excellence.

Sir William Penn married, very early in life, Margaret,[1] the daughter of John Jasper, of Rotterdam, by whom he left two sons, the youngest of whom survived him only three years; and one daughter.

His daughter, Margaret,[2] was married to Anthony Lowther, Esq. of Mask, in the county of York; whose descendant in the second generation, Sir Thomas Lowther of Holker, in the county of Lancaster, Bart., married the Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of William Cavendish, duke of Devonshire. Their only son and child, William, dying unmarried in 1756, the title became extinct, and his estates passed by his will to the noble house of Cavendish.

[1] She died in 1681-2, and was buried at Walthamstow the 4th of March.

[2] She also is buried at Walthamstow.

His eldest son William married, first, Gulielma Maria, daughter of Sir William Springett; and secondly, Hannah, daughter of Thomas Callowhill of Bristol; and had issue by both marriages. To his eldest son by his first marriage, he left, at his death in 1718,[1] the estates in Ireland which he had inherited from his father; which branch failing of male issue in the third generation, those estates devolved to an heiress, who married a gentleman of Gloucester of the name of Gaskill, and was succeeded at her death by her son, Alexander Forbes Gaskill, Esq. of Shannagarry, in the county of Cork. To his three sons by his second marriage, he bequeathed his province of Pennsylvania; in the proportions of one moiety and two fourth parts. The eldest, John, dying unmarried in 1746, bequeathed his moiety to his next brother, Thomas; the youngest, Richard, remaining possessed of his fourth part: both these returned to the communion of the church of England. The only remaining representatives of Sir William Penn's family are, the descendants of the forementioned Thomas, (by the Lady Juliana Fermor, fourth daughter of Thomas, second Baron Lempster and first Earl of Pomfret,) who was succeeded, at his death in 1775,[2] by his

[1] He was buried in the Quakers' burial-ground at Jordans, near Beaconsfield.

[2] *Pennsylvania Gazette, May 17th*, 1775.—"By the last ships from London "we have an account that, on the 21st of March last, died, the Hon. Thomas "Penn, Esq., one of the proprietors of this province; and last survivor of all "the children of its illustrious founder, William Penn, whose virtues, as well "as abilities, he inherited in an eminent degree.

"He was born March 8th, 1701-2; being a few months younger than our "present *charter of privileges*, which he constantly declared himself desirous of

eldest surviving son, John Penn, Esq. of Stoke Pogeis, in the county of Bucks, the last surviving proprietary and hereditary governor of the late province; and those of the forementioned Richard, by Hannah,

" preserving inviolable, as the great fundamental compact by which all ought " to be bound. He had the principal direction of the affairs of this govern- " ment for half a century; and saw such an increase of population, arts, and " improvement in it, as, during the like period, perhaps no man before him " ever beheld in a country of his own. He rejoiced at the sight; was a kind " landlord; and gave a liberal, often a magnificent, encouragement to our " various public institutions. The hospital, the college, our different libraries, " and religious societies, can witness the truth of this. For, he did not confine " himself to sect or party; but, as became his station, and the genius of his " father's benevolent policy, he professed himself a friend to *universal liberty*, " and extended his bounty to all. In short, the grave, which generally stops " the tongue of flattery, should open the mouth of justice. We may be per- " mitted to conclude his character by saying, that he was both a great and a " good man."—He was interred in his family vault, at Stoke Pogeis.

" *An Account of the Value of the Exports from England to Pennsylvania, from Christmas* 1748, *to Christmas* 1752, *distinguishing each year.*

From	Value of Exports, by English Produce.			Value of Exports, by Certificate.			Total Exports.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
X^s 1748 to X^s 1749	191,833	0	6	46,804	2	4	238,637	2	10
1750	156,945	7	10	60,767	13	0	217,713	0	10
1751	129,503	17	1	61,413	8	0	190,917	5	1
1752	123,872	14	0	77,794	5	11	201,666	19	11
TOTALS	602,154	19	5	246,779	9	3	848,934	8	8

" *Custom-House, London,*
18th April, 1754."

JOHN OXENFORD, Ass. I. Gen.

In " a Case" presented to the government by William Penn, the founder, it is stated; that

" The crown, in the year 1680, granted to the said William Penn the " province of Pennsylvania, then a desolate wilderness. Without any expenses " to the crown, but with a vast one to the said William Penn, he, by his own " interest, and endeavour of his friends, has made of that wilderness a regular, " well-settled, and thriving colony, by which the British dominions are enlarged, " the consumption of their manufactures greatly increased, and the king's

daughter of Richard Lardner, M.D. Relation of kindred, was always mutually claimed and acknowledged between the family of Sir William Penn and the Penns of Penn in Bucks, now represented by Earl Howe; but the genealogical connexion, does not appear on record.

Much praise, and many thanks, are due to the ingenuity, skill, and perseverance, which have opened to us the historical stores[1] of Pepys' *Diary*. Whether

" revenues many thousands of pounds per annum advanced, by exports and " imports."

Whatever profits the trade and revenue of Great Britain, and of the state of Pennsylvania, have severally derived, or shall ever hereafter derive, from their commercial intercourse, are, and will continue to be, the fruits of those expenses, and those exertions, bestowed by the original founder on that once-desolate wilderness.

[1] The historical communications of the *Diary*, are Pepys' legitimate property. What property he had in the voluminous masses of official MSS. documents which he detained in his possession, and the posthumous transmission of which has added such celebrity to his name, may be learned from the following letter, written to him three years before his death, by Burchett, then secretary of the admiralty; and unreservedly given to the world, by the editor of his *Diary*. (Vide *Correspondence*.)

" Sir, " Admiralty Office, 7th June, 1700.

" In one article of the instructions to the lord high admiral, established by " his majesty king Charles II. in council, June 13, 1673, it is expressly pro- " vided, that all books and papers of the transactions of the said high admiral, " with relation to the public affairs of his office, shall be methodically digested, " and remain, from time to time, for the perusal of any succeeding admiral; " and my lords of the admiralty having occasion to inspect into several things " that were transacted during the time the office of secretary of the admiralty " was under your care and management, and finding themselves unable to " satisfy themselves for want of several books and papers still in your custody, " particularly your public letter books, most of the letters that passed between " the Lord Dartmouth and yourself, when he commanded the fleet in 1688, " and others; I am, therefore, commanded to send you a copy of so much of " the lord admiral's instructions as relates to this matter, and to signify their

the extracts from the copious original which are now before the world, have been selected by a rule that would have been satisfactory to Pepys himself, I have no separate right to inquire, though it is the right of every reader, and the manifest interest of every one who may have a similar journal to leave behind him; but, there are two selections, which I have not only a separate right, but an imperative duty to notice, in concluding these Memorials. The first selection is this:

"*November 9th*, 1663.—Mr. Blackburne tells me, that there was a cruel articling against Penn after one fight, for *cowardice*, in putting himself into a coil of cables, of which he had much ado to acquit himself.[1]——[2] And that, just upon the turn, when Monk was come from the north to the city, and did begin to think of bringing in the king, Penn was then *turned Quaker*."

" lordships' desire to you, *that you will cause to be delivered to me, for their use,*
" *all the public books and papers relating to the office of lord high admiral still*
" *remaining in your custody*, for which their lordships have commanded me to
" give you a receipt.

" I am, with great respect,

" Your most humble and obedient servant,

" J. BURCHETT."

Fortunately, those documents, though estranged from their natural station, have been deposited where easy and commodious access to them is most liberally and courteously permitted, (I speak especially from my experience of the Bodleian library); but, in 1803, when I first commenced the collections for this work, and was unapprised of the disposal of (what are called) Pepys' MSS., I was equally astonished and mortified at the penury of the admiralty resources in this particular, although the late Sir Evan Nepean, then one of the secretaries of the admiralty, afforded my research every kind assistance that his official station enabled him to bestow.

[1] To this gross article, the compiler of the index to the *Diary* has deliberately referred its reader, under the express head, "*Character of Sir William Penn;*" a reference, in itself constituting (to say the least) a scandalous libel.

[2] The paragraph here omitted has been already noticed above at p. 20.

We have already learned from the *Diary*,[1] that this Blackburne was a time-serving inferior officer of the admiralty, who was loud against the king's return until he was restored; but, after his restoration, was as obsequiously compliant, that he might retain his place.

The second selection is this:

"*Dec. 29th*, 1667.—Mrs. Turner tells me," says Pepys, "that Mr. W. Penn is a Quaker again; which is a pleasant thing after his being abroad so long, and his father such an hypocritical rogue, and *at this time an atheist*." This last, is Pepys' own averment.

The world has long known Sir William Penn's displeasure at his son's "turning Quaker," and it therefore knows the consummate falsity of one of these statements; and I am sure, that it will not require me to prove, over again, the equal falsity of the other two, after the series of authentic testimonies which have been laid before it.[2] The reader of this work will now perceive, how necessary it was, before he met these scurrilities, that he should be

[1] See above, p. 219.

[2] "We think it a monstrous principle," observes the Quarterly Reviewer of No. LXXXIII. p. 51, "that the name of an old and gallant officer, (Lord "Rodney), who 'has done the state some service;' who, in fact, had the good "fortune of doing more than has fallen to the lot of ninety-nine in the hundred "of his brother-officers in the same rank, should be subject, after the lapse of "*half a century*, when he and all his contemporaries are no more, to be "arraigned before the public tribunal." I am confident, that I shall not have a single reader who will not warmly participate in the high feeling expressed by the writer of this remark, and who will not be sensible of its exact application to the present occasion. And, what was the impeachment of Rodney, on a point of skill, compared with these grave charges; of which, after the lapse of *more than a century and a half*, the publication of arbitrary selections from the *Diary* has been made *the first vehicle?*

made intimately acquainted with the character of mind, and disposition of nature, of him who recorded them.

"Malicious" or "mischievous,"[1] however, as that person's disposition betrays itself to have been, yet, with him, those scurrilities were most prudentially soliloquous;[2] wrapped up in all the secrecy, obscurity, and mystery of cipher; "things unknown," until his editor

> "Turned them to shape, and gave to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name."

But, in adventuring to do this he can hardly have reflected, that he was taking upon himself publicly to affix for the first time, without reservation or corrective, to the name of an eminently brave and religious public servant, the qualities expressed in those low scurrilities; and, what must his unreflecting or uninquiring readers conclude, whom he has ushered into his book with his unqualified prefatory assurance, that "the *Diary* contains the most un-"questionable evidences of veracity?" whereas, we have here the most unquestionable evidences of its foul and slanderous falsehood. Whatever respect is due from me to the noble selector and editor, he must be sensible, that still greater is due from me to the memory of him in whose vindication he has unnecessarily compelled me to engage. In deeming himself

[1] "BEAUCLERC.—He is very *malicious*." "JOHNSON.—No, sir, he is "not malicious, he is *mischievous*, if you please; he would do no man an "essential injury."—(Sequel to dialogue quoted above in note to p. 490.)

[2] See above, p. 526, and note.

at liberty to deal thus lightly with the name and reputation of the distinguished subject of these Memorials, he must surely have forgotten, that the law consigns the fame of the ancestor to the guardianship of his descendants; and have forgotten also, the "*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor:*"

"Of my own blood, some venger will arise!"

I must lay a forcible restraint on the further flow of the tide, of feelings and observations, to which this levity naturally and necessarily gives rise; but, these I feel it a sacred duty to record, that they may henceforth travel on, in time, as a perpetually concurrent antidote to the poison which has been so widely, and so unconcernedly, disseminated.

κύνας
Τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς δῆτ', πῶς φύγω παρεὶς τάδε;[1]

"My father's furies how shall I escape,
If I pass by these things?"

I have endeavoured, in the preceding Memorials, to draw a true and complete outline of Sir William Penn's professional life; and I am not conscious that I have laid, on any part of it, any artificial colouring. If his memory is not entitled to the regard and gratitude of his country, I claim them not for it; if it is entitled to these, I know it will receive them, from British justice and feeling, without preferring a claim.

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[1] ÆSCHYL. χοήφορ. v. 924, 925.

(*Inscription*)

Inscription on the Monument in the REDCLIFFE CHURCH, *Bristol, in memory of Sir* WILLIAM PENN.

" To the just Memory of Sr WILL^M^ PENN, Kt., and sometimes Generall: Borne at Bristoll An. 1621: Son of Captain Giles Penn, severall yeares Consul for ye English in ye Mediterranean; of the Penns of Penns-Lodge in ye County of Wilts, and those Penns of Penn in ye C. of Bucks; and by his Mother from the Gilberts in ye County of Somerset, Originally from Yorkshire: Addicted from his Youth to Maritime Affaires; he was made Captain at the yeares of 21; Rear-Admiral of Ireland at 23; Vice-Admiral of Ireland at 25; Admiral to the Streights at 29; Vice-Admiral of England at 31, and General in the first Dutch Warres, at 32. Whence retiring, in A^o^. 1655 he was chosen a Parliament man for the Town of Weymouth, 1660; made Commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy; Governor of the Town and Fort of King-sail; Vice-Admiral of Munster, and a Member of that Provincial Counseill; and in Anno 1664, was chosen Great Captain Commander under his Royall Highnesse in y^t^ signall and most evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet.

Thus, He took leave of the Sea, his old Element; But continued still his other employs till 1669; at what time, through Bodely Infirmities (contracted by ye Care and fatigue of Publique Affairs),

He withdrew,

Prepared and made for his End; and with a gentle and Even Gale, in much peace, arrived and anchored in his Last and Best Port, at Wanstead in ye County of Essex, ye 16 Sept. 1670, Being then but 49 and 4 Months old.

To whose Name and merit, his surviving Lady hath erected this remembrance."

Epitaph of Sir WILLIAM COVENTRY, *in the Church of* PENSHURST.

Hic
Situs Est
GULIELMUS COVENTRYE, EQUES AURATUS;
THOMÆ Baronis COVENTRYE de Alesborough
Filius natu minimus:
Cujus egregias Naturæ dotes, antiqua fides,
Spectata probitas, mores suavissimi, maxime
Commendârunt.
In negotiis impiger, sagax, indefessus;
In Bello, rebusque asperis, providus, constans, intrepidus;
In Conciliis, tam Regis Secretioribus,
quam Regni publicis, singularis ejus Sapientia
atque ingenii acumen, mirè enituit;
et, quod in dubiis temporibus difficillimū est,
ita omnium officiorum observantissimus, ut
debitam Principi fidem, cum Patriæ Salutis
Studio, semper conjunxerit.
Religionis reformatæ, cultor pius,
Strenuus felixque vindex;
Sui decus Seculi, futuris exemplum:
qui, cum permultos captivos redimerit, alucritque pauperes,
non hæredum eget pietate
ut nominis sui memoria
Lapideis consecretur Monumentis;
tumulum sibi excitavit omni marmore
Perenniorem.
Pie ac placide animam Deo reddidit
Apud fontes vicinos medicinales,
VIII calend. Julias, An. Dom. MDCLXXXVI.
Ætatis suæ
LX.

(*Translation*)

Translation of the preceding Epitaph.

In this place is reposited,
SIR WILLIAM COVENTRYE, KNIGHT,
(Youngest Son
Of Thomas, Baron Coventrye of Alesborough);
Whose splendid Natural endowments, his rare and solid virtue,
His well-proved integrity, and most engaging manners,
Especially enhanced.
Diligent, sagacious, and indefatigable in business,
Provident, firm, and fearless in War, and in difficult circumstances,
His singular wisdom, and the force of his genius,
Admirably shone forth
In his Majesty's Privy Council,
And in the Public Councils of the Kingdom:
And, which in unsettled times is most difficult,
He was so exactly observant of all his duties,
That he ever combined the fidelity due to his Prince,
With an anxious concern for the welfare of his Country.
A pious follower, and strenuous and successful defender
Of the Reformed Religion,
The ornament of his own age, and an example to those that shall follow;
After redeeming many captives, and nourishing many indigent,
He needs not that the piety of his heirs
Should consecrate his memory on tablets of stone;
Having raised to himself a monument more lasting than marble.
He piously and placidly yielded up his soul to God
At the neighbouring medicinal springs,
The 24th of June, An. Dom. 1686,
Aged 60.

END OF THE MEMORIALS.

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX H.

First Measures taken by the Protector, and his Council, relative to his new acquisition of Jamaica.

" *Sept. 27th*, 1655.—Colonel Jones reported from the committee of the council to whom the business of Jamaica is referred, ' A List of several provisions, tools, materials, and other necessaries for that island, both in relation to the sea and land service;' which was read and agreed to. And in pursuance thereof,

" Ordered, by his highness the Lord Protector and the council, That the particulars after mentioned be forthwith provided, for the use of the people in Jamaica, by such persons as his highness shall in that behalf appoint; being in lieu of those particulars, the provisions whereof was, by an order of the 19th September instant, referred to the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy: that is to say,

500 steel spades,	200 hand-bills,
500 other spades,	300 hatchets,
1000 shovels,	200 broad axes,
10 iron sledges,	100 thwart saws,
3000 felling axes,	3000 broad and narrow hoes.

" As also, the clothing of several sorts after mentioned, viz.

100 pieces of dimity, of several sorts.	900 pairs of linen stockings.
1800 ells of shirting, for officers.	6000 pairs of shoes.
200 ells of Holland, for handkerchiefs.	6000 pairs of stockings.
	6000 pairs of drawers and waistcoats.
	6000 shirts.

" As also, the particular medicaments mentioned in a paper which is to be annexed to this order.

" Ordered, by his highness the Lord Protector and the council, That it be, and it is hereby referred to the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, to give speedy order that the particulars hereafter mentioned be forthwith provided, for the better accom-

modating of the service of this commonwealth in America, and for the shipping of them aboard with the first opportunity, viz.

Threescore tons of beef and pork, victual for three months for 2000 men.

Bread, 168 thousand	168 tons.	300.
Brandy	40 tons.	
French barley, a small quantity.		
Some rice	1 ton.	
In spices	50 lbs.	
Lampwick, a convenient quantity	2 hogshds.	
Tallow candle, singular good	100 lbs.	
Turner's ware, necessary	100 lbs.	

Two pinnaces or skiffs, between 20 and 30 feet long, in quarters.
Two wherries to row with four oars, and appurtenances.
Ten dozen of long pikes.
2000 rivets, iron, for hoops.
One mainsail, one mizen, and small sails, for each frigate left behind.
One dozen of long leather.
300 weight of twine.
12 h. dozen of needles.
Pump leather, with bixes and other materials for pumps for the 12 ships.
12 dozen of leather scuppers, with a proportion of scupper nails.
4 dozen of spars, that may serve for small masts or yards.
A proportion of hamachoes for the 12 frigates.
Six jack flags.
Six dozen of axes and hatchets.
One or two glaziers, with materials.
Coopers', carpenters', caulkers', and armourers' tallow and tempered stuff.

"*October 3d.*—Ordered, that it be referred to the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, forthwith to take order, that the particulars after mentioned be speedily provided for the use of the officers and people at Jamaica; that is to say:

100 swords for officers.	1000 knives.
100 saddles and bridles for officers, and furniture for holsters.	Five reams of writing-paper.
	Gum, galls, and copperas, to make ink.
200 saddles for dragoons.	Flints, to be sent as ballast.
200 pairs of spurs.	10 grindstones.

"Also, the several sorts and quantities of seeds following; viz.

20 pounds of turnip seeds.	8 pounds of parsley.
20 pounds of carrot.	8 pounds of spinage.
20 pounds of parsnep.	10 pounds of onion seeds.[1]
8 pounds of lettuce.	

[1] It is observable, that potatoes are not mentioned among these articles of vegetable provision.

" That it be referred to the commissioners of the admiralty and navy, to advise with Mr. Pett, and such other builders, as they shall think fit, concerning the speedy building of four advice-boats, to be built in such manner as they may go with most expedition; and to report their opinion to the council, with all speed, together with the charge of their building.

" That one thousand Irish girls, and the like number of youths, be sent into Jamaica; and it is referred back to the committee for Jamaica, to consider of the allowance to each of them, not exceeding twenty shillings a-head; and the age of such boys and girls to be fourteen years or under."

" *Instructions given unto Mr. Daniel Gookin.*

" I. You shall, upon the receipt of these instructions, repair aboard the ketch the *Fraternity*, bound for New England, in which you are, by the blessing of God, to take your passage thither; where, being arrived,

" II. You shall apply yourself to the governors, magistrates, and general courts of the English colonies, or to such churches, towns, or persons of the English there, as you shall find to be for the advantage of the present service, and to acquaint them, that it hath pleased God to put the island of Jamaica in America into the hands and possession of this state; the army sent from hence into those parts in December 1654, having landed at the town called Iago de la Beiga (*Vega*, now *Spanish Town*,) the 10th of May; and that we are assured, as well by several letters from thence, dated the 25th of July last, as by General Venables and General Penn, the first whereof came from thence the 25th day of July, and the latter the 25th day of June; that our forces are in the full possession thereof, the people who were found upon that place (the number whereof were about 1400) being fled to the hills, with an intention to get over to some other parts of the King of Spain's dominions; save that some of the negroes, Portuguese, and others, do daily submit themselves to our commander-in-chief, there to be by him disposed of.

" III. You shall describe unto them, the content, situation, and goodness of the said island, as the same is expressed in the paper now delivered unto you, which we received from our officers and commissioners; as also, the plenty of horses and other cattle which are thereupon; and you shall also let them know the goodness,

safety, and convenience for trade, of the harbour where our men now are fortifying, and of other harbours that are in that island.

" IV. You shall assure them, that of the army which landed the 10th of May, there are between six and seven thousand men well armed; and that, since that, viz. the beginning of July last, we have sent from hence another regiment of foot, consisting of eight hundred soldiers drawn out of our old regiments, with provisions of bread and other necessaries for the whole army for eight months, embarked in twelve ships, eight whereof are good men-of-war, with which Major Robert Sedgwick is sent as a commissioner in the civil affairs; and that there is also a squadron of eleven ships of good force, under the command of vice-admiral Goodson, besides the said eight ships of war, and one other ship of war of countenance, in all to the number of twenty, with other ships of burden, and victuallers, all of which are appointed to remain in those seas, and attend unto that service.

" V. You shall assure them, that we shall, through the blessing of God, endeavour to defend the said island against all attempts whatsoever; and, for that purpose, shall constantly send further supplies, both of men and shipping, from hence, as likewise of bread and other provisions, until the island be able to supply itself. Our intention being, if the Lord please, to have a good fleet always in those seas.

" VI. This being the true state of that affair, and the reality of our intentions therein, we have thought it expedient to send you into the aforesaid colonies and people, to explain and declare these things unto them; and to make them an offer of removing themselves, or such numbers of them as shall be thought convenient, out of those parts where they now are, unto Jamaica, which we have done chiefly upon these ensuing reasons, amongst many others:

" 1st. Our desire is, that this place (if the Lord so please) may be inhabited by people who know the Lord and walk in his fear, that by their light they may enlighten the parts about them, which was a chief end of our undertaking this design; and might also, from amongst them, have persons fit for rulers and magistrates, who may be an encouragement to the good, and a terror to the evil-doers.

" 2d. Out of love and affection to themselves, and the fellow-feeling we have always had of the difficulties and necessities they have been put to contest with, ever since they were driven from the

land of their nativity into that desert and barren wilderness for their consciences' sake; which we could not but make manifest at this time, when, as we think, an opportunity is offered for their enlargement, and removing them out of a hard country into a land of plenty.

" 3d. Considering that God, by His providence, through the many difficulties and necessities they are exercised with, had put it into some of their hearts to seek a new plantation, and particularly them of New-Haven, who (as we are informed) are upon thoughts of removing into the Bay of De la Ware; and, that the distance between New England and this island is not so great but will afford a greater convenience of trade and correspondence with their brethren they leave behind them, than the bay before mentioned; we have thought fit to make this offer to them: and, for their better encouragement therein, you are to make to them these following propositions:

" 1. That in case any entire colony or colonies, or a considerable number of persons, will transplant themselves thither, such part of the island lying next some good harbour shall be set out unto them, as shall be answerable to their numbers, and shall be granted to them and their heirs for ever, with all edifices, horses, cattle tame or wild, fisheries, woods, trees, fruits, and profits thereupon, the same not being already, or shall not before an agreement made with them, be set forth to some other planters; to be held in free and common soccage, without any rent for the first seven years, and then one penny an acre and no more.

" 2. That they shall have liberty granted to them, for the space of seven years, to hunt, take, and dispose of, to their own use, such horses and other cattle as are or shall be upon the said island, the same not being marked by, or belonging to, other planters; subject, nevertheless, to such rules and directions, as to their hunting and taking of horses, cattle, and other beasts, out of their own bounds and limits, as shall from time to time be made by the persons authorised for managing the affairs of the said island.

" 3. That his highness will grant them letters patent, under the great seal, of incorporation; with as large privileges and immunities, both for choosing their officers and otherwise, as are granted to any city, or town corporate, within the commonwealth of England.

" 4. That neither they nor their servants shall, without their own consent, be drawn out into the wars, unless it be in case of invasion or rebellion, and for the defence of the said island.

" 5. That no custom, excise, impost, or other duty, shall be set and imposed for the space of three years, (to be accounted from the 29th day of September, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1656,) upon any their goods and merchandises, of the growth, production, or manufacture of the said island, which they shall transport into this Commonwealth.

" 6. That his highness will take care, and be obliged to appoint, from time to time, such a governor and commander-in-chief of the said island, and such persons to assist him in the management of the affairs thereof, as shall be men of integrity, and fearing God; and that he will, from time to time, elect and constitute some from amongst them to be of that number, who, for their fidelity, prudence, godliness, and honesty, may be fit for such trust. And that, as speedy as may be, a civil government shall be settled agreeable to the word of God, and, as far as the condition of that place will admit, to the laws of England; where provision shall be made that the churches of Christ shall have liberty and protection in all ways of godliness and honesty.

" 7. That, towards the transportation of themselves, their servants, and estates, his highness will furnish them with six ships of convenient burden, if they desire that number, and also a fitting convoy; they undertaking to victual ships of burden from the time the said ships shall arrive in their ports for the purpose aforesaid, until they have performed their voyage.

" 8. As to the quantity, and proportion, of land to be appointed for them; according to the first proposition, you are authorised to propound, that such quantity of land shall be set forth as will answer the proportion of twenty acres for every male of twelve years old and upwards, and ten acres per poll for all other male or female to be transported as aforesaid.

" 9. That the said quantity of land shall be set forth unto them within six weeks after the agreement made for their transportation, and signification of their desires on that behalf to the commander-in-chief, or commissioners, intrusted for that purpose; to whom you shall direct yourself, or any other persons concerned herein, in prosecution of the premises, or any part of them.

" 10. That they do engage to transport the whole number of

males, for which twenty acres to each is to be set forth, within two years after the aforesaid agreement; and, that they do begin their work of transporting some time before the end of September 1656.

" 11. You shall, from time to time, as you have opportunity, or by an express, if you find it necessary, send unto us, in writing, a particular account of your proceedings upon these instructions, and of what else shall occur in reference thereunto; whereupon, you shall receive our further directions for the management of this affair as the case shall require; and such agreement as you shall make in the mean time, pursuant to these instructions, we shall confirm and ratify.

" Passed by his Highness and the Council, 26th Sept. 1655.[1]

" *State Paper, Whitehall, July* 9, 1804.

" A true Copy.

" Examined,

(Signed) " JOHN BRUCE,

" Keeper of State Papers."

APPENDIX I.

Form for Government of the Navy.

(Presented by Sir William Penn to the King, June, 1660.[2])

" The principal part of the well-governing of the navy, consisteth in the form and method thereof, to his majesty's best advantage and profit.

" His advantage, by having able and experienced officers, to carry on his work understandingly.

" His profit, by their faithful disposition of his navy and stores to proper ends and purposes.

" The ancient form hath been, sometimes, by principal officers, or commissioners; and subordinate officers under them, as clerks of the stores, check, &c., who have distinct instructions how to manage their duties. The principal officers have been formerly four; viz.

A TREASURER,	A SURVEYOR,
A COMPTROLLER,	A CLERK OF RECORDS.

[1] Books of the Council of State, vol. xxi. pp. 283, 310, 314.

[2] The MS. is so indorsed, in the handwriting of Sir W. Penn's son.

"These have divers duties, (as at large appeareth in the Duke of Buckingham's and the Earl of Northumberland's instructions, formerly lord high admirals), which concern them jointly, and so are common to all; or are severally, and so peculiar to each.

"The principal officers, might be, were expedient in the first constitution, by reason the navy was but small, and the ships of no considerable number; whereby they could the better accomplish their peculiar duties. But now, the navy growing large, (near 160 sail), and the expense vast and great, it hath been, amongst knowing men, esteemed the best and safest way for his majesty's service, to govern the navy by commissioners; and the reasons, in short, followeth:

"1. The TREASURER, may be termed as well a commissioner as a principal officer, in respect he is only accountable for money. His great care principally concerns himself; as to his warrants that secure his payments, and his well and orderly management of his accounts. But, as for his majesty's advantage therein, it may be quereable, what check he hath upon his payments; whether the comptroller is able to manage it effectually, or not, according to his duty required.

"2. The COMPTROLLER.—It hath been never known to any one man now living in the navy, that ever he could perform his particular duty in keeping check or control on the treasurer's payments, or the cash committed to his charge, or auditing the storekeeper's accounts, as he is enjoined. If any such service was ever done, let the books of the manner how, and the form thereof, be produced. Doubtless, if any such control was at any time, it would appear in the navy records; which those (ancient in the navy) have seen no such thing these forty years; but, a rude undigested method of entries. And, if it could not be done when the navy was small, and little action, how is it possible at this time, when the navy is above two-thirds increased in shipping and charge? And therefore, to have such a title, and no performance of the duties, is but a mere shadow without a substance.

"3. The SURVEYOR.—As to his particular duty, it is of great trust (called the *mystery of the navy*); much depending on his clerks' fidelity, he himself leaving it wholly to his ministers' management in supplying ships out to sea, and taking remains of boatswains' and carpenters' stores at their return home; balancing their accounts, which many times, for want of better inspection, it hath

fallen out, that many a good cable hath been swallowed, and provisions sold and embezzled, the surveyor trusting to his clerks, and the rest of the principal officers leaving it as a duty incumbent on him, to manage; which, if those clerks of the survey were his majesty's servants, (with competent salaries), and without absolute dependence on the surveyor, as liable to his pleasure for continuance or discharge, and they tied to present their accounts to the view of the whole board for ratification, (having more eyes upon them than their own), it would make them more careful to preserve their reputations from dishonourable actions, and prevent many abuses, which small salaries from their masters may make them liable unto.

" 4. CLERK OF RECORDS, (*or Acts*).—His duty is the same, whether a principal officer or a commissioner; to prepare and set business for signing, and recording of proceedings; but, he ought to be an excellent accountant, well versed in naval affairs, and in subordinate officers' duties, otherwise many gross errors will ensue.

" Now, if these principal officers be reduced to commissioners to act in a joint body; why, then, particular duties may be laid aside; for, in joint commission, both particular and joint duties may effectually be performed; nay, with more safety to the action carried on, and the actors freer from blame; because, no one man can act any thing of himself, without consent of his fellows, and every man's power is alike, in carrying on the service. And there can be no entrenching one upon another's place, as in particular duties, one assuming this or that as proper to him, and not to another; but, according to the major part of the board, all things are disputed publicly, and are either allowed, or reason given to the contrary, and not left to a particular person's appointment, which hath formerly begotten irregularity, confusion, discord, and emulation amongst them, and discontent to those that had to do with the service; as is well known to some now living.

" For a comptroller upon the treasurer, is discoursed the manner how, in another paper; by appointing an able person to do that work in the treasurer's office.

" For management of the survey business, able clerks may be appointed, to be resident in the most eminent yards, and to present their transactions to the body of the commissioners; as is shewn how, by another discourse.

" For the clerk of the acts, it is indifferent, as before rehearsed, whether commissioner or principal officer; only this may be said, he is better able, by his record (if duly kept), to give a check to the treasurer's payments, than the comptroller; as may be manifested by the manner of keeping his books, to be now seen in the Navy Office.

" It is fit, according to the quality of the persons chosen for commissioners, such of them as are of more honour and better estates than others, should have precedence in commission, place, and signing. And it may be presumed, that men look not so much upon a title (*of office*), as upon the salary which makes the place acceptable and thanksworthy; for, if as good an allowance and entertainment be given for acting by a joint-commission as by a particular denomination, it may be as much satisfactory, and equivalent for rewarding of a service, as under any title whatsoever.

APPENDIX K.

The following article having been rejected, and another more full of detail substituted in its room, in Dr. Burney's new edition of Falconer's Marine Dictionary (first printed in 1789), I give the original here, as a mark of respect to Falconer's memory :—

" MIDSHIPMAN—a sort of naval cadet, appointed by the captain of a ship of war, to second the orders of the superior officers, and assist in the necessary business of the vessel, either aboard or ashore.

" The number of midshipmen, like that of several other officers, is always in proportion to the size of the ship to which they belong. Thus, a first-rate man-of-war has twenty-four, and the inferior rates a suitable number in proportion. No person can be appointed lieutenant, without having previously served two years in the royal navy in this capacity, or in that of mate; besides, having been at least four years in actual service at sea, either in merchant-ships, or in the royal navy.

" Midshipman, is accordingly the station in which a young volunteer is trained in the several exercises necessary to attain a sufficient knowledge of the machinery, discipline, movements, and military operations of a ship, to qualify him for a sea-officer.

" As the chief object of our attention has been to facilitate the acquisition of this intelligence, we have endeavoured to treat those subjects at large, in the different parts of this work, according to their importance. We have also sketched the general outlines of the respective charges of all the superior officers, which, in conformity to the plan of this work, become previous to this article. Thus, the duties of the admiral, the captain, the lieutenant, and the master, are already explained in their proper places; and whatever intelligence appears necessary to discharge those offices, is also, in a high degree, essential to the midshipman. Those officers, indeed, as well as many others, are furnished with suitable instructions to regulate their conduct; but the midshipman, being invested with no particular charge from the government, is by consequence omitted in those official regulations. In a work of this kind, however, the importance of the subject is not always determined by the superiority of rank or station. If our province is to communicate instruction, those who are the least informed are certainly the principal objects thereof, and to them our attention is more peculiarly directed. Hence, the extent of our design comprehends many circumstances which would be immaterial in general orders and regulations; and hence, abundance of particular directions to respective officers, inserted in those general regulations, are rejected here, as foreign to our purpose. Averse as we are, on other occasions, to offend the rigid nicety of a critic, by introducing moral reflections in a performance dedicated to scientifical description, we must for once be indulged with a short deviation from the plan hitherto invariably followed. Happy, if our efforts may in any degree operate to produce the effects for which they were calculated!

" On his first entrance into a ship of war, every midshipman has several disadvantageous circumstances to encounter. These, are partly occasioned by the nature of the sea-service; and partly, by the mistaken prejudices of people in general, respecting naval discipline, and the genius of sailors and their officers. No character, in their opinion, is more excellent than that of the common sailor, whom they generally suppose to be treated with great severity by his officers; drawing a comparison between them, not very advantageous to the latter. The midshipman usually comes aboard tinctured with these prejudices, especially if his education has been amongst the higher rank of people; and, if the officers

happen to answer his opinion, he conceives an early disgust to the service, from a very partial and incompetent view of its operations. Blinded by these prepossessions, he is thrown off his guard; and very soon surprised to find, amongst those honest sailors, a crew of abandoned miscreants, ripe for any mischief or villany. Perhaps, after a little observation, many of them will appear to him equally destitute of gratitude, shame, or justice; and only deterred from the commission of any crimes by the terror of severe punishment. He will discover, that the pernicious example of a few of the vilest in a ship of war, is too often apt to poison the principles of the greatest number; especially, if the reins of discipline are too much relaxed, so as to foster that idleness and dissipation which engender sloth, diseases, and an utter profligacy of manners. If the midshipman, on many occasions, is obliged to mix with these, particularly in the exercises of extending or reducing the sails in the tops, he ought resolutely to guard against this contagion, with which the morals of his inferiors may be infected. He should, however, avail himself of their knowledge, and acquire their expertness in managing and fixing the sails and rigging; and never suffer himself to be excelled by an inferior. He will probably find a virtue in almost every private sailor, which is entirely unknown to many of his officers: that virtue is emulation, which is not indeed mentioned amongst their qualities by the gentlemen of terra firma, by whom their characters are often copiously described with very little judgment. There is hardly a common tar, who is not envious of superior skill in his fellows; and jealous, on all occasions, to be outdone in what he considers as a branch of his duty. Nor is he more afraid of the dreadful consequences of whistling in a storm, than of being stigmatised with the opprobrious epithet of lubber. Fortified against this scandal by a thorough knowledge of his business, the sailor will sometimes sneer in private at the execution of orders which, to him, appear awkward, improper, or unlike a seaman. Nay, he will perhaps be malicious enough to suppress his own judgment; and, by a punctual obedience to command, execute whatever is to be performed, in a manner which he knows to be improper, in order to expose the person commanding to disgrace and ridicule. Little skilled in the method of the schools, he considers the officer who cons his lesson by rote as very ill qualified for his station, because particular situations might render it necessary for the said officer to assist in putting his own orders in practice. An ignorance in this

practical knowledge will, therefore, necessarily be thought an unpardonable deficiency by those who are to follow his directions. Hence the midshipman, who associates with these sailors in the tops, till he has acquired a competent skill in the service of extending or reducing the sails, &c., will be often entertained with a number of scurrilous jests, at the expense of his superiors. Hence also he will learn, that a timely application to those exercises can only prevent him from appearing in the same despicable point of view, which must certainly be a cruel mortification to a man of the smallest sensibility.

"If the midshipman is not employed in these services, which are undoubtedly necessary to give him a clearer idea of the different parts of his occupation, a variety of other objects present themselves to his attention. Without presuming to dictate the studies which are most essential to his improvement, we could wish to recommend such as are most suitable to the bent of his inclination. Astronomy, geometry, and mechanics, which are in the first rank of science, are the materials which form the skilful pilot, and the superior mariner. The theory of navigation is entirely derived from the two former, and all the machinery and movements of a ship are founded upon the latter. The action of the wind upon the sails, and the resistance of the water at the stem, naturally dictate an inquiry into the property of solids and fluids: and the state of the ship floating on the water, seems to direct his application to the study of hydrostatics and the effects of gravity. A proficiency in these branches of science will equally enlarge his views with regard to the operations of naval war, as directed by the efforts of powder, and the knowledge of projectiles. The most effectual method to excite his application to those studies is, perhaps, by looking round the navy, to observe the characters of individuals. By this inquiry he will probably discover, that the officer who is eminently skilled in the sciences will command universal respect and approbation; and that whoever is satisfied with the despicable ambition of shining the hero of an assembly, will be the object of universal contempt. The attention of the former, will be engaged in those studies which are highly useful to him in particular, and to the service in general. The employment of the latter, is to acquire those superficial accomplishments that unbend the mind from every useful science, emasculate the judgment, and render the hero infinitely more dexterous at falling into his station in the dance, than in the line of battle.

" Unless the midshipman has an unconquerable aversion to the acquisition of those qualifications which are so essential to his improvement, he will very rarely want opportunities of making a progress therein. Every step he advances in those meritorious employments, will facilitate his accession to the next in order. If the dunces, who are his officers or messmates, are rattling the dice, roaring bad verses, hissing on the flute, or scraping discord from the fiddle, his attention to more noble studies will sweeten the hours of relaxation. He should recollect, that no example from fools ought to influence his conduct; or seduce him from that laudable ambition, which his honour and advantage are equally concerned to pursue."

It is unnecessary to refer the young seaman, from these hints of Falconer, to the full and animating instructions of Captain Basil Hall, in his first series of *Fragments*, &c.

APPENDIX L.

The *Instructions for Sailing, and for Fighting*, issued by Sir William Penn to his fleet in 1655, when he was in the sole command of the expedition to the West Indies, at the beginning of the Spanish war, were abridged from those first issued at the close of the Dutch war, immediately after he had been appointed, on the 2d of December, 1653, one of the Generals of the Fleet: the former are dated the 16th of the same month, the latter in March following, as may be seen in the copy of them among Sir William Penn's Naval Tracts in the Sloane Collection of MSS. Br. Mus. No. 3232. To them are there subjoined, "Additional Instructions," both for sailing and for fighting, subscribed " JAMES," and dated, " On board the *Royal Charles*, the 27th of April, 1665." All these were afterwards united, and digested into the two following bodies of Instructions, issued by his royal highness the lord high admiral.

" *James, Duke of York and Albany, Earl of Ulster, Lord High Admiral of England, Scotland, and Ireland; Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Governor of Portsmouth, &c.:*

INSTRUCTIONS

FOR

The better ordering His Majesty's Fleet in Sailing.

Instruction I.

" As soon as the admiral shall loose his fore-topsail, and fire a gun, every ship in the fleet is to make ready and weigh; and being come to sail, to follow the chief of their squadron.

Instruction II.

" If the admiral shall weigh in the night, he will fire one gun, and hang a light on the main-topmast shrouds, above the common light in the main-top, which is to be answered by the chief of every squadron, and the respective ships to answer by a light on their main-tops; which they are to take in, when the admiral takes in his from the main-topmast shrouds, and not before.

Instruction III.

" For the better knowing and distinguishing each squadron, and keeping company in the night, notice is to be taken, that,

" 1. The admiral hath three lights on his poop, and one on his main-top.

" 2. The vice-admiral (or he who commands in chief in the second place), two on his poop, and one on his main-top.

" 3. The rear-admiral (or he who commands in chief in the third place), one on his main-top, and one on his poop.

" 4. The vice-admiral of each squadron, two on his poop.

" 5. The rear-admiral of each squadron, one on his poop; but when the whole fleet carry their lights, then the rear-admiral of each squadron is to carry two lights, the one hoisted a yard above the other on the ensign-staff.

" 6. In case of foul weather and a dark night, each ship is to carry a light.

INSTRUCTION IV.

" In case the admiral would have the fleet to cut or slip in the day, he will fire two guns, and loose his fore-topsail.

" And if he would have the fleet to cut or slip in the night, he will fire two guns, and hang a light in the main-topmast shrouds, above the constant light.

INSTRUCTION V.

" That all ships endeavour to sail in their own squadrons; and if they happen to be astern of their chiefs, they are to make what sail they can, and come up by them; and if any one shall take in any sail, and not do his utmost to come up with the chief of his squadron, as aforesaid; or shall not endeavour to sail and anchor in his own squadron; he shall be tried at a council of war, as a neglecter of his duty. And the flag-officers of each squadron are to take notice of such neglect, and to give an account thereof at their next meeting.

" Provided always,

" 1. That in case of springing a leak by day, under sail, or any disaster, whereby any ship is disabled for keeping company in the day, such a ship is to make a sign thereof by firing two guns distinctly one after another, and to haul up his low sails.

" 2. That in case of springing a leak, or other disaster, by night, such a ship is to hang out two lights of equal height in the shrouds, and to fire guns.

INSTRUCTION VI.

" In sailing or tacking, every ship is to keep good order, and not to strive for the wind or place one of another, upon any pretext whatsoever, whereby the least prejudice or damage may come to any ship or ships of the fleet: that is to say, every captain, lieutenant, master, master's mate, or pilot of a ship of lesser rank, is to give place to one of a greater; and if they be of one rank, then the younger captain is to give place to the elder. However, no captain, lieutenant, master, master's mate, or pilot, is to stand or endeavour to take the place or wind of another ship (though of a lesser rank), so as damage may ensue to either ship, upon pain of cashiering and losing their pay; as well the elder captain, or captain of a better ship, as the younger captain, or captain of a less ship.

" But in case any commander of a less ship, or younger captain, shall offer to go to windward of his senior or better ship, when it comes to the necessity that one must give way or place to the other, then the captain or commander of a better ship complaining, the captain, lieutenant, master, master's mate, or pilot, so offending, shall, for every such first offence, forfeit three months' wages, to be paid unto such persons as the admiral or council of war shall appoint, to be disposed of for the relief of wounded men, widows, and orphans of the slain: and for every such second offence, shall forfeit four months' pay: and for every such third offence, be cashiered, and lose his or their whole wages.

INSTRUCTION VII.

" In sailing at any time, no ships are to presume to go to windward of the chief of their squadron, unless in chase or in fight; but to give due respect, to come to speak with him, as often as they can conveniently: and if the chief of their squadron come by the lee, and make a weft with his jack, then every ship of his squadron is to bear under his stern, and speak with him.

INSTRUCTION VIII.

" As soon as the admiral shall put abroad the union-flag in the mizen-shrouds, and fire one gun, all the captains in the fleet are to repair on board the admiral.

" If an ensign be put abroad in the same place, all the masters of ships are to repair on board, as aforesaid.

" If the standard be put in the same place, then the flag-officers only are to repair on board, as aforesaid.

" If a red flag, then all the captains of the admiral's squadron are to repair aboard, as aforesaid.

" If a white flag, then the vice-admiral, and all the captains of his squadron, are to go on board, as aforesaid.

" If a blue flag, then the rear-admiral, and all the captains of his squadron, are to go on board, as aforesaid.

" If a standard be put on the ensign-staff, the vice-admiral and rear-admiral of the fleet only are to go on board.

" If a white flag be put on the ensign-staff, all the captains of the frigates, that carry thirty guns and upwards, are to go on board.

" If a blue flag be put there, all the captains of the frigates, and good sailers, that carry under thirty guns, are to go on board.

" If a red flag be put there, all the captains of frigates, both small and great, are to go on board.

" If the jack, coloured with colours, be put there, all the captains of ships that are not frigates shall go on board.

" If they are not in capacity to go on board themselves, they are to send their lieutenants, or next officers, to give an account thereof; and none are to fail, upon forfeiture of one day's pay, to be paid presently.

Instruction IX.

" Whoever has a desire to speak with the admiral, shall spread a flag from the head of his topmast down the shrouds, lowering his topsail, (that it may be the better discovered), and fire one gun.

Instruction X.

" When the admiral would have the sternmost ships to tack before him, in the day, he will fire one gun, and take in his ensign, and put out a pendant on the staff: and if he would have any particular ship to tack, he will fire one gun, and take in his ensign, and put up the signal for speaking with that ship.

Instruction XI.

" If the fleet chance to tack in the night, the admiral will fire one gun, and put out two lights more than he had before, at equal distance, one over another, on the poop; and each ship is to answer with one light more than ordinary; which light is to be kept out, till the admiral's lights be taken in.

" And when the signals are thus given for tacking in the night, by the admiral's and flag-ships, the sternmost and leewardmost ships must tack first, and so keep on with an easy sail, till the admiral comes a-head again; and every ship is to keep in order, in their own squadron.

Instruction XII.

" If any shall chance to lose company in the day-time, and meet again, those to windward shall (*left blank*); and those to leeward shall ( ).

" And if the same thing shall happen by night, that they may the better know one another, he who hails shall ask, *What ship is that?* and he who is hailed shall answer ( ); and the other who first hailed shall reply ( ).

INSTRUCTION XIII.

" If, in case of sailing in the night, it overblows, so that the admiral shall think fit to shorten sail, he will put out one light over the other on the poop; and each ship is to answer with another light, beside what they had before; it being understood, that in foul weather, and a dark night, each ship is to carry a light.

INSTRUCTION XIV.

" If, by reason of foul weather, it be thought fit by the admiral to hand the foresails, and lie a-trey, he will shew four lights of equal height, and the rest are to answer with the like.

" And if the admiral shall, at any time, think fit to lie short, or a-hull, in regard of foul weather, then will he shew three lights, one over another, on the main-shrouds, or where they may be most conveniently seen.

" And it is to be noted, that if any of the fleet have occasion to trey or hull, when the rest of the fleet bear away, he is to fire one gun, and shew the same number of lights, after the manner here before expressed.

" When the admiral shall see cause to make sail in the night, after blowing weather, he will shoot off two guns; which are to be answered by the vice and rear-admirals of his own squadron with one gun; the vice and rear-admirals of the fleet, are each of them to shoot off two guns; and each of their vice and rear-admirals, one gun: and the admiral will put out three lights, one over the other, in the main-shrouds, according to the signal for shortening sail; which being answered from every ship, he will take in.

INSTRUCTION XV.

" If the admiral shall alter his course in the night, he will fire one gun, without alteration of lights; which is to be answered by the chief of every squadron.

INSTRUCTION XVI.

" If, in the night, the admiral should not see the fleet, and yet would know where each ship is, he will put out two lights of equal height, besides what he had before: and each ship is to answer with the like, and to get as near as conveniently they can, to the chief of their squadron's lights.

INSTRUCTION XVII.

" If at any time after sailing (being in the open sea) the admiral shall anchor, the fire-ships and small ships of his division are to anchor a fair birth to windward of him; and to observe, and shift their roads, as the wind shifts (during the time the admiral rides there), in case the weather shall permit them.

INSTRUCTION XVIII.

" If the admiral chance to anchor in the night, he will fire two guns, a small distance of time one from another; to which his vice and rear-admirals are to answer, each with one gun: the vice-admiral of the fleet with two; his vice and rear-admirals, each of them with one: the rear-admiral of the fleet with two; and his vice and rear-admirals, each of them with one: whereby the chief ships of each squadron may have convenient time to birth themselves, and the whole fleet may have timely notice to dispose of themselves near their respective flags; so that they may receive no prejudice one by another: and each ship is to answer with two lights.

INSTRUCTION XIX.

" If in the night any one sees land or danger, he who first discovers it is to fire one gun, and then to shew as many lights as he can, and to bear away or tack from it.

INSTRUCTION XX.

" If it grow thick and foggy weather, and there be sea-room enough, the admiral will hale up his low-sails, and shoot every hour a gun; which the flag-officers of the admiral's own squadron are first to answer; afterwards, the vice-admiral, and his flag-officers; then the rear-admiral, and his flag-officers; and all the rest of the fleet are to answer, with firing of muskets, beating of drums, and sounding of trumpets.

" If the admiral make sail in a fog, he will fire three guns, one after another, and one every glass; which is to be answered by the chief ships of each squadron; and the rest are to beat drums, shoot off muskets, and sound trumpets, as before.

" If the admiral shall tack in a fog, or thick weather, so that the admiral cannot discern the whole fleet, he will fire four guns immediately one after another; and the chief flags of the other

squadrons are to answer, each of them with three; and to keep firing as aforesaid.

" If the admiral shall anchor in a fog, he will do the same thing as when he anchors in the night; for which see Instruction XVIII.

INSTRUCTION XXI.

" When the captains, and other officers of the fleet, shall come into any port or harbour, they shall endeavour to supply themselves with water and ballast, and whatever else shall be necessary for sailing and fitting their ships, and enabling them for present service. They are likewise to be very careful to wash and make clean their ships, as often as they shall have opportunity, especially between decks and in the hold; to which end, they shall hoist up all beef, pork, and beer casks, on the upper-deck, and shake them there, that so no stench may go down into the hold.

INSTRUCTION XXII.

" In case any ship or vessel, not of his majesty's fleet, shall at any time come into the fleet, and make towards the admiral, or lie driving in the fleet, or at anchor; those ships of his majesty's fleet which are nearest to such a ship or vessel, are to send on board the said ship, to know what she is, and to give an account thereof unto the admiral; not permitting such a ship or vessel to come to the admiral unexamined.

INSTRUCTION XXIII.

" When the admiral, being at anchor, shall fire a gun at any ship or vessel, approaching, passing by, or standing away from him, or at anchor; any ship of the fleet, which shall then happen to be nearest to that ship or vessel at which the admiral shall so fire, shall also fire at, and endeavour to speak with, the said ship, and bring the commander thereof to the admiral: but, if such a ship shall decline to be so spoken with, and the admiral shall think fit to fire three times at her, those ships of his majesty's fleet that are nearest (under the third rate) shall immediately slip or cut their cables, and use their best endeavour to bring such a ship or vessel to the admiral.

INSTRUCTION XXIV.

" When the admiral shall put forth a flag striped with red and white on the fore-topmast head, the admiral of the white squadron

shall send out ships to chase; when on the mizen-topmast head, the admiral of the blue shall send out ships to chase.

" If the admiral would have any particular ship of his own division (except his vice and rear-admiral) to chase, he will put a flag, striped red and white, where the ordinary signal for speaking with that particular ship, uses to be a pendant.

" If a flag striped red and white be spread upon the main-topmast, under the standard, the vice-admiral of the red is to send out ships to chase.

" If the same flag be hoisted on the ensign-staff, the rear-admiral of the red is to send out ships to chase.

Instruction XXV.

" Upon firing one gun, and lowering the main-topsail of the admiral, or chief of the squadron, every ship in chase shall give over his chase: and when the admiral doth it, the chief of the squadron next to him, or them, ought to do the like, whereby the signal may be the more apparent.

Instruction XXVI.

" If any one in the day time chance to see a ship or ships more than his majesty's fleet, he is to put abroad his ensign, and there to keep it till the admiral's is out, and then to strike it as many times as he sees ships, and to stand with them, that so the admiral may know which way they are, and how many; but, in case they be at such a distance that the ensign cannot be well discovered, then he is to lay up his head towards the ships or fleet which he so descries, and to brail up his low-sails, and to continue hoisting and lowering his top-sails, and making a weft with his topgallant-sail (if he has any), until the admiral answers by lowering his top-sails, and making a weft with his topgallant-sails:

" If by night, the signal is by firing of guns, and making of many false fires, and putting out a light in the maintop, and three on the poop, steering after them, and shooting off guns; unless the admiral keep out his lights, and steer away another course, and fire one gun, two, or three, to call them off; in which case they are to leave the ships and fleet so descried, and follow the admiral.

INSTRUCTIONS

For the better ordering His Majesty's Fleet in Fighting.

Instruction I.

" Upon discovery of a fleet, and receiving of a signal from the admiral (which is to be the striking of the admiral's ensign, and making a weft), such frigates as are appointed (that is to say, one out of each squadron) are to make sail, and to stand with them, so nigh as they can conveniently, the better to gain knowledge what they are, and of what quality; how many fire-ships, and others; and what posture their fleet is in; which being done, the frigates are to speak together, and conclude on the report they are to give; and, accordingly, to repair to their respective squadrons and commanders-in-chief; and not to engage (if the enemy's ships exceed them in number), unless it shall appear to them on the place that they have an advantage.

Instruction II.

" At sight of the said fleet, the vice-admiral (or he who commands in chief in the second place), with his squadron; and the rear-admiral (or he who commands in chief in the third squadron), with his squadron; are to make what sail they can to come up, and to put themselves into that order of battle, which shall be given them; for which, the signal shall be the union-flag put on the mizen-peak of the admiral's ship; at sight whereof, as well the vice and rear-admirals of the red squadron, as the admirals, vice-admirals, and rear-admirals of the other squadrons, are to answer it, by doing the like.

Instruction III.

" In case the enemy have the wind of the admiral and fleet, and they have sea-room enough, then they are to keep the wind as close as they can lie, until such time as they see an opportunity, by gaining their wakes, *to divide the enemy's fleet;* and if the van of his majesty's fleet find that they have the wake of any considerable part of them, they are to tack and stand in, and *strive to divide the enemy's body;* and that squadron that shall pass first, being got to windward, is to bear down on those ships to leeward of them; and the middle squadron is to keep her wind, and to observe the motion

of the enemy's van, which the last squadron is to second; and both of these squadrons are to do their utmost to assist or relieve the first squadron that *divided the enemy's fleet.*

INSTRUCTION IV.

" If the enemy have the wind of his majesty's fleet, and come to fight them, the commanders of his majesty's ships shall endeavour to put themselves *in one line*, close upon a wind, according to the order of battle.

INSTRUCTION V.

" If the admiral would have any of the fleet to make sail, or endeavour by tacking, or otherwise, to gain the wind of the enemy, he will put a red flag upon the spritsail, topmast-shrouds, fore-stay, or fore-topmast-stay: and he who first discovers this signal shall make sail, and hoist and lower his jack and ensign, that the rest of the fleet may take notice thereof, and follow.

INSTRUCTION VI.

" If the admiral should have the wind of the enemy, when other ships of the fleet are in the wind of the admiral; then, upon hoisting up a blue flag at the mizen-yard, or mizen-topmast, every ship is to bear up into his wake or grain, upon pain of severe punishment.

" If the admiral be to leeward of the enemy, and his fleet or any part thereof be to leeward of him, to the end such ships that are to leeward may come up in a line with the admiral (if he shall put a flag as before and bear up); none that are to leeward are to bear up, but to keep his or their ship's luff, thereby to give his ship wake or grain.

" If it shall please God, that the enemy shall be put to run, all the frigates are to make all the sail that possibly they can after them, and to run directly up their broadsides, and to take the best opportunity they can of laying them on board; and some ships, which are the heavy sailers (with some persons appointed to command them), are to keep in a body in the rear of the fleet, that so they may take care of the enemy's ships which have yielded, and look after the manning of the prizes.

INSTRUCTION VII.

" In case his majesty's fleet have the wind of the enemy, and that the enemy stand towards them, and they towards the enemy, then the van of his majesty's fleet shall keep the wind; and when they are come within a convenient distance from the enemy's rear, they shall stay, until their own whole line is come up within the same distance from the enemy's van; and then their whole line is to tack (every ship in his own place), and to bear down upon them so nigh as they can (without endangering their loss of wind); and to stand along with them, the same tacks aboard, still keeping the enemy to leeward, and not suffering them to tack in their van; and in case the enemy tack in the rear first, he who is in the rear of his majesty's fleet, is to tack first, with as many ships, divisions, or squadrons, as are those of the enemy's; and if all the enemy's ships tack, their whole line is to follow, standing along with the same tacks aboard as the enemy doth.

INSTRUCTION VIII.

" If the enemy stay to fight (his majesty's fleet having the wind), the headmost squadron of his majesty's fleet shall steer for the headmost of the enemy's ships.

INSTRUCTION IX.

" If, when his majesty's fleet is going before the wind, the admiral would have the vice-admiral, and the ships of the starboard quarter, to clap by the wind, and come to their starboard tack, then he will hoist upon the mizen-topmast head a red flag.

" And in case he would have the rear-admiral, and the ships of the larboard quarter, to come to their larboard tack, then he will hoist up a blue flag in the same place.

INSTRUCTION X.

" If the admiral would have the van of the fleet to tack first, he will put abroad the union flag at the staff on the fore-topmast head, if the red flag be not abroad; but if the red flag be abroad, then the fore-topsail shall be lowered a little, and the union flag shall be spread from the cap of the fore-topmast downwards.

" When the admiral would have the rear of the fleet to tack first, the union flag shall be put abroad on the flag-staff of the mizen-topmast head; and for the better notice of these two signals

through the fleet, each flag-ship is, upon sight of either of the said signals, to make the same signals, that so every ship may know what they are to do; and they are to continue out the same signals until they be answered.

INSTRUCTION XI.

" If the admiral put a red flag on the mizen-shrouds, or the mizen-peak, all the flag-ships are to come up into his wake or grain.

INSTRUCTION XII.

" When the admiral would have the other squadrons to make more sail, though himself shorten sail, a white ensign shall be put on the ensign-staff of the admiral's ships.

INSTRUCTION XIII.

" As soon as the fleet shall see the admiral engage, or make a signal, by putting out a red flag on the fore-topmast head, each squadron shall take the best advantage to engage the enemy, according to such order of battle as shall be given them.

INSTRUCTION XIV.

" In time of fight, if the weather be reasonable, the commanders of his majesty's fleet shall endeavour to keep about the distance of half a cable one from another; but so as they may also (according to the direction of their commanders) vary that distance, as the weather shall prove, and as the occasion of succouring any of his majesty's ships, or of assaulting those of the enemy, shall require.

" And as for the flag-officers, they shall place themselves according to such order of battle as shall be given.

INSTRUCTION XV.

" No commander of any of his majesty's ships shall suffer his guns to be fired, until the ship be within distance to do good execution; and whoever shall do the contrary, shall be strictly examined, and severely punished, by a court-martial.

INSTRUCTION XVI.

" In all cases of fight with the enemy, the commanders of his majesty's ships are to keep the fleet *in one line*, and (as much as may be) to preserve that order of battle, which they have been directed to keep, before the time of fight.

INSTRUCTION XVII.

" None of the ships of his majesty's fleet shall pursue any small number of the enemy's ships, before the main body of their fleet shall be disabled, or run.

INSTRUCTION XVIII.

" None shall fire upon the ships of the enemies that are laid on board by any of his majesty's ships, but so as he may be sure he do not endamage his friend.

INSTRUCTION XIX.

" The several commanders in the fleet are to take special care, upon pain of death, that they fire not over any of their own ships.

INSTRUCTION XX.

" It is the duty of all commanders of the small frigates, ketches, and smacks, belonging to the several squadrons (who are not otherwise appointed by the admiral), to know the fire-ships belonging to the enemies, and accordingly observing their motion, to do their utmost to cut off their boats (if possible); or, if they have an opportunity, to lay them on board, seize, and destroy them: and, to this purpose, they are to keep to windward of their squadron, in time of service. But in case they cannot prevent the fire-ships from coming on board of his majesty's ships, by chapping between them (which by all possible means they are to endeavour), they are in such an exigent to shew themselves men, by steering on board them with their boats, and, with grapnels and other means, to clear his majesty's ships from them, and to destroy them. Which service, if honourably performed, shall be rewarded according to its merit; but, if neglected, shall be strictly examined, and severely punished.

INSTRUCTION XXI.

" The fire-ships in the several squadrons are to endeavour to keep the wind; and they (with their small frigates) to be as near the great ships as they can, attending the signal from the admiral, and acting accordingly.

" If the admiral hoist up a white flag, at the mizen-yard-arm or top-mast-head, all the small frigates in his squadron are to come under his stern for orders.

INSTRUCTION XXII.

" In case it should please God, that any ships of his majesty's fleet be lamed in fight, and yet be in no danger of sinking, nor encompassed by the enemy, the following ships shall not stay, under pretence of succouring them, but shall follow their leaders, and endeavour to do what service they can against the enemy; leaving the securing of the lame ships to the sternmost of the fleet: being assured, that nothing but beating the body of the enemies' fleet can effectually secure the lame ships.

" Nevertheless, if any ship or ships shall be distressed or disabled, by loss of masts, shot under water, or the like, so that it is really in danger of sinking or taking; that, or those ship or ships thus distressed, shall make a sign by the weft of his or their jack or ensign, and those next to them are strictly required to relieve them.

" And if any ships, or squadron, shall happen to be overcharged or distressed, the next squadron, or ships, are immediately to make towards their relief and assistance.

" And if any ship shall be necessitated to bear away from the enemy, to stop a leak, or mend what is amiss, (which cannot otherwise be repaired), he is to put a pendant on the mizen-peak, or ensign-staff, whereby the rest of that ship's squadron may have notice what it is for.

" If the admiral, or any flag-ship, should be so, then the ships of the fleet, or of the respective squadrons, are to endeavour to get up as close into a line, between him and the enemy, as they can; having always an eye to defend him, in case the enemy should come to annoy him in that condition.

" And in case any flag-ship, or any other ship in the fleet, shall be forced to go out of the line, for stopping of leaks, or repairing of any other defect, then the next immediate ships are forthwith to endeavour to close the line again, either by making or shortening sail, or by such other ways and means as they shall find most convenient for doing of it; and all the small craft shall come in to that ship's assistance, upon a signal made of her being disabled.

" And if any of the chief flag-ships, or other flag-ships, shall happen to be so much disabled as that they shall be unfit for present service, in such a case, any chief flag-officer may go on board any other ship of his own squadron, as he shall judge most

convenient: and any other flag-officer, in that case, may go on board any ship in his division.

INSTRUCTION XXIII.

" In case of fight, none of his majesty's ships shall chase beyond sight of the admiral; and at night, all chasing ships are to return to the fleet.

INSTRUCTION XXIV.

" If any engagement by day shall continue till night, and the admiral shall please to anchor, all the fleet are, upon a signal, to anchor, in as good order as may be, which signal will be the same as in the *Instructions for Sailing* (vid. Instr. XVIII.); that is to say, the admiral fires two guns, a small distance one from another, &c.

" And if the admiral please to retreat without anchoring, then he will fire four guns, one after another, so as the report may only be distinguished; and about three minutes after, he will do the like with four guns more."

APPENDIX M.

Notes respecting Sir WILLIAM PENN, addressed to his Son.

" HONOURED SIR, March, 1711–12.

" Pursuant to your command for my giving your honour an account of what I remember of your late honoured father, Sir William Penn, is this:

" That he commanded the ship of war, called the *Fairfax*, at Cadiz, in the year 1650, about Christmas; where, at Punchal, he refitted, tallowed, and victualled his fleet, consisting of eight ships of war, viz. the *Fairfax*, in which he carried the then Long Parliament's flag, (which was, the St. George's cross next the staff, and the Irish yellow harp in a blue field next the flying part; and, off Cape Spartell, hoisted his flag on a staff at the main-top-gallant mast-head); the *Centurion*, Captain (afterwards Sir) John Lawson; the *Phœnix*, Captain (afterwards Sir) Joseph Jordan; the *Foresight*, Captain (afterwards Rear-Admiral) Howett; the *Nonsuch*, Captain Mildmay; the *Adventure*, Captain Andrew Ball; the *Assurance* (to which ship I belonged), Captain Benjamin Blake; the *Star* (a Dunkirk-built prize, of 24 guns), Captain Robert Sanders.

" The fleet departed from Cadiz about the middle of January, 1650–51, and sailed thence to Malaga, and thence to Alicant; and, after three or four days at each place, went to the island of Formentera, where they wooded and watered, and thence sailing to Majorck, off the Cabereras, took a ship of 400 tons and 26 guns, laden with sugar from Lisbon to Marsilia. Which said prize was sent into Iveca harbour, where she remained, until the fleet returned, under the command of Grimsditch,[1] lieutenant of the *Fairfax;* and Robert Blake, nephew to the general, was then made lieutenant to your father. Note: in those days, no ship of war under a third-rate was allowed a lieutenant;[2] and no ship of war above a third-rate (not even in the ship the general was in) had more than one lieutenant.

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 371.

[2] See vol. i. p. 427.

" After which, the fleet sailed to Majorck, where we stayed a few days; and sailing thence to Caglary, in the gulf of Lyons, took the *St. Luke* of Marsilia, of 200 tons and 18 guns, of which Lieutenant William Adams (who had been lieutenant to General Blake at Lyme and Taunton) was made captain. At Caglary staying a few days, we sailed to Drepanum, the west point of the Isle of Sicilia, between which and the Barbary coast we cruised all that summer, and met a rich ship of Marsilia of 250 tons, 20 guns and 10 peteeras, going from the Levant, home. We took her in a calm, by the *Nonsuch*, *Adventure*, and *Assurance*, being fitted with oar-ports between the guns, between decks, with ship-oars, assisted with their own and other ships' boats, the *Nonsuch* and *Adventure* being in her wake, and the *Assurance* right to leeward; and, by furling our sails, and rowing and towing thwart her fore-foot, took her. After which, when there was a gale of wind, the said prize was found to outsail every ship in the fleet, by a main-top-sail.

" After which, the admiral, with six ships of his fleet, sailed to Messina, and sent the *Nonsuch* and *Assurance* to Palermo-Mole, to wash and tallow, which we did without Pratick; and sailing thence towards Messina, met the admiral off the Isle of Stombolo, on his way to Livorne. Off the Isle of Elba, overtook the Spanish admiral, with about twelve ships of war, going from Naples to Cadiz, and, after a friendly salute, sailed to Livorne, where all the fleet re-victualled, and sailed thence to Iveca, Formentera, Alicant, Malaga, and Gibraltar, where we arrived about Michaelmas, 1651; and where we stayed, cruising at least three months, by dividing the fleet into two parts: viz. three ships in each division, the admiral and one riding in Old Gibraltar Road, ready to second any division who sailed out in an evening; so as to be in the middle of the Straits, or further towards the coast of Barbary, to look out for ships going into the Straits. And, if any were seen in the morning, the squadron to leeward (who stood not to the coast of Spain before mid-day), or those in Gibraltar bay, made to them; so as few ships went into the Straits but they were spoken with, if friends, or taken, if enemies. In returning from cruising, we have frequently been drove by the current as high up as *Fungerole*, between which and Gibraltar-hill, along the shore, the eddy-current sets westward; but, by short tacks, especially getting about Gibraltar-hill, south point, came to the rendezvous every third day at furthest. At Old Gibraltar, we got wood and water; hogs, oil, and Sherry

wine, from the mountains by the town; and beef from Tetuan; and bread from Cadiz: besides, we took a Dutch ship, laden with corn, bound from to Tangiers.

"In January, 1651–2, all the fleet sailed for Cadiz, and victualled thence for England; and arrived at Spithead before the great eclipse, called *Black Monday*. And, after we had taken in some victuals, sailed to the Downs, where we arrived the latter end of April, 1652. Where was great removing; so that your late honoured father was removed into the ship *Triumph*, as vice-admiral (I suppose) to General Blake; but your late honoured father (having for some time been cruising off the Western Islands before he came to Cadiz) got leave to go to London, and so was not in the fight with the Dutch in May, 1652, although Robert Blake acted as captain of the *Triumph* in that fight; in which was no other flags but the general, in the *Old James*, and Major Nehemiah Bourn, as rear-admiral, in the *St. Andrew*.

"General Blake was in the *Prince Royal*[1] in the Kentish-Knock fight; and your late honoured father (I believe) was his vice-admiral, in the *Old James;* and Major Bourn was rear-admiral, in the *St. Andrew;* in whose division was the *Assurance*, in which ship I was in that fight.

"In December 1652, General Blake met the Dutch fleet going to Rochelle, off Dover, where he lost the *Garland* (an old third-rate ship of 44 guns), and the *Anthony Bonadventure* (a hired ship of 36 guns): a casual shot shooting away the general's fore-top-mast (as he was going to begin the fight), prevented his engaging the Dutch.

"After that skirmish, General Blake and all his fleet came into the river of Medway, to refit; and made that dispatch, so as to reach Dover Road the first week of February, 1652–3, at which time, in an hour one morning, the nine flags were displayed; and every ship, by their pendants, and keeping to their respective flags, was delightful to behold.[2]

"Your late honoured father commanded the *Speaker*, as admiral of the blue, in the fight off Portland, in February 1652–3, the wind N.W.; and being a-head of Generals Blake and Deane in the *Triumph* (well manned by your father to their hand), began the

[1] Then the *Resolution*. See vol. i. p. 492, *note* 3.

[2] "There cannot be a braver sight, than a ship in her bravery."—SMITH'S *Sea-Grammar*, 1627, p. 54.

fight with the wind on the starboard bow. And when your honoured father saw the Dutch bent all their force to destroy the generals, your father, with his division (in which was the *Assurance*, Robert Saunders, commander), tacked and stood through the Dutch fleet, with the wind on the larboard side, as Sir John Lawson (then vice-admiral of the red), in the *Fairfax*, did with his larboard tack aboard, being about a mile on the starboard quarter, and as much astern of the general, when the fight began. General Monk, in the *Vanguard*, then admiral of the white, and all his division, being at least four miles to leeward of the generals when the fight began; so as the main stress of that fight lay upon the red and blue divisions.

"Your late honoured father was admiral of the white in June fight, 1653, (when General Deane was killed,) I believe in the *Old James;* the generals, Deane and Monk, being both in the *Prince Royal*. And, the latter end of that day's fight, General Blake came into the fleet in the *Essex* (a new-built third-rate). He was slightly wounded in the neck at Portland fight, and was not in the fleet, after that, before.

"I was not in the fight in August (July) 1653, when Van Tromp was killed; but believe your late honoured father was in that fight, as admiral of the white.

"Your late honoured father was appointed general of the fleet by Oliver Cromwell, in 1655, to take St. Domingo; at which time he dwelt upon Great Tower-hill, on the east side, within a court adjoining to London-wall. And he frequently came upon the hill next his dwelling, to be applied to by persons under the degree of commanders. One day of which, I was presented to your late honoured father by my late master, Mr. John Carter, who was purser of the *Assurance* when your late honoured father commanded her; and was so, all the time your late honoured father was admiral in the Straits; and acted as purser-general all that voyage. For his well-performing of which, your late honoured father chose him to go purser-general of the fleet to Hispaniola. But he, being unwilling to go that voyage, presented me to your late honoured father, to go purser-general in his stead, offering to give bond in my behalf; but your father, upon viewing me, turned about to my late master, and said, I was too young. Upon which my said late master went that voyage as purser-general; and, coming home in

a second-rate ship that was burnt by a bason of burnt brandy,[1] amongst many others, was drowned for want of boats.

" After the Restoration, your late honoured father was made a commissioner of the navy, and appointed to pass the victualler's, Sir Dennis Gauden, and the pursers' accounts. William Burrows, a swarthy, black-haired, pock-broken-visage man, was his chief clerk.[2]

" I remember your honour very well, when you newly came out of France, and wore pantaloon breeches;[3] at which time your late honoured father dwelt in the Navy-office, in that apartment the Lord Viscount Brouncker dwelt in afterwards, which was on the north part of the Navy-office garden.

" I well remember your late kinsman, Sir Richard Rooth,[4] who was a volunteer with your late honoured father in the *Fairfax;* with whom, and Sir William Poole, and Captain John Whately, related to, and preferred by, your late honoured father, I continued in perfect friendship to the day of each of their deaths.

" Your late honoured father's interest was always very great, so as the captains of his fleet in the Straits had great and speedy preferment; and so had all men he ever took notice of, before the Restoration. And afterwards, he had the same respect from his royal highness and Sir William Coventry. Your late honoured father preferred no man (*illegible*); his favourites kept their places, being founded upon merit, and not preferred for money.

" Your late honoured father was fair-haired; of a comely round visage; a mild-spoken man; no scoffer, nor flatterer; easy of access, so as no person went from him discontented.

" P. Gibson."

[1] See above, pp. 126, 7, 8.

[2] See above, p. 133. He was probably the same as the William Burroughs, appointed to the command of the *Martin*, of 12 guns, in the fleet sent to receive the king at Scheveling. See list of the fleet, p. 221.

[3] " 26*th August*, 1664.—Mr. Penn, Sir W. Penn's son," says Pepys, " is come back from France, and come to visit my wife. A most modish person " grown; she says, a fine gentleman."

[4] Knighted, according to Charnock, the 9th of March, 1675. For a summary account of the professional careers of Sir Richard Rooth and Sir William Poole, see Charnock's *Biograph. Navalis*, vol. i. pp. 26–29.

APPENDIX N.[1]

Abstract of Sir WILLIAM PENN'S *Answer to the Pretensions of Colonel* WALLIS:

Presented to the Consideration of the Hon. H. M.'s Commissioners for the Settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland.

"That Sir William Penn, upon the king's ordering the Earl of Clancarty to be immediately possessed of his ancient estate, did surrender the castle, town, and manor of Macromp, being a garrison wherein was constantly and conveniently quartered a foot-company and troop of horse; with many thousand acres of land contiguous; and the castle, town, and manor of Killcreagh, with several lands thereunto belonging, (the whole amounting to eight hundred forty-eight pounds per annum; whereon were gardens and nurseries brought to great perfection; several woods of considerable value; markets and fairs; court-leet and court-baron, with the like dignities; and one year and half rent in arrear;) unto the said Earl of Clancarty. In consideration of which, the king earnestly writes to the then lords justices, for to hasten the said Sir W. Penn's reprize, out of such forfeited lands as were in Imokilly; namely, Rostillon, Shangarry; and Inchy, with the lands joining thereunto, dated the 17th of October, 1660.

"In November, 1660, comes out the Declaration, confirming all such lands as were set out to Sir W. Penn, (page 18), pursuant to the king's gracious letter. The then lords justices issue forth an order for the possessing Sir W. Penn (January 1660–1) of the afore-named places, with lands adjoining. And, that this order might have the better effect, they give another, dated the 7th of June, 1661, ratifying and confirming their former orders; and that, by granting Sir W. Penn a custodium of the said lands, which he accordingly had, commencing May, 1661.

"July 20th, 1661, comes an order from the said Commissioners of the Court of Claims, confirming this custodium.

"November 23d, 1661, produces a supersidious order from the lords justices, for the continuing Sir W. Penn's right and possession.

[1] This Appendix ought to have preceded the former Appendix M, but the original presented itself too late to alter the references.

"The first year's custodium drawing to an end, there was a new custodium, upon the lords justices' order to the lord chief baron, for three years, dated March 5th, 1661–2.

"All this time, Colonel Wallis, pursuant to letters, orders, and custodiums, turned tenant; so that, being in possession in right of Sir W. Penn, and the land he urges his clause for, being given out and confirmed to another, his title becomes void: such a possession, also, being unknown to the purpose of the act.

"In 1662 came forth the Act of Settlement, which, in page 88, most largely expresses the king's intention to Sir W. Penn, giving to him a full reprize out of those lands, as he had been put in possession of, by his majesty's letters; and that he then held, as tenant to him: which, in so many words, enervates all other interests and pretensions. Nor, in that act, is there any clause repealing, or coming in competition.

"Several letters were afterwards sent in the behalf of Sir W. Penn, to put those, here deputed to manage the concerns of this kingdom of Ireland, (in possession) of the king's continual indulgent care for Sir W. Penn's security and ample satisfaction. Amongst several others, that dated the 7th of April, 1664, directed to the Lord of Ormonde, lord lieutenant; positively requiring, that no person or persons whatsoever should, by virtue or colour of any order or grant, dispossess Sir W. Penn of any of those lands whereof the said Sir W. Penn was possessed, as tenant to his majesty. Upon which most favourable letter, comes out the so long-expected explanatory act, wherein Sir W. Penn (pp. 48, 49) is most particularly provided for: 'That the said Sir W. Penn 'should hold to him and heirs for ever, all and singular the lands, 'tenements, and hereditaments, in the county of Cork, whereof 'he, the said Sir W. Penn, was, by his under-tenants, the 1st of 'March, 1664–5, possessed of, as tenant to his majesty; unless, 'upon valuation, they were found to be worth above 1000*l.* per 'annum; all charges, quit-rents, and reprizes, deducted.'

"And that, since the passing of this act, nay, since Sir W. Penn's case has been controverted, his majesty graciously, to clear all doubts concerning his intention in the act, writes at length with his own hand unto my lord lieutenant, to declare to your lordships he never intended that any person whatsoever should receive any benefit, or reprize, out of the lands in Sir W. Penn's possession, save Sir W. Penn. And that if, upon a favourable inquest taken

of the lands' value, there is an overplus, that then it shall be in Sir W. Penn's choice what part shall be retrenched. This his majesty intimated to my lord lieutenant, as his will and pleasure, in reference to Sir W. Penn.

"I therefore humbly pray, that your lordships would please to let Sir W. Penn receive the benefit of all his letters, orders, grants, custodiums, and provisos.

"And, to the end your lordships may have the better assurance of the king's particular care and gracious intentions in Sir W. Penn's behalf, I humbly think it necessary to give your lordships one passage:

"Some small time before his royal highness was pleased to make choice of Sir W. Penn to command under him in the first engagement against the Dutch, his majesty, well understanding the great difficulty the widow and the fatherless have to secure an unsettled estate, (if it had pleased God Sir W. Penn had been therein slain,) sent for the solicitor-general, Sir Heneage Finch; strictly requiring him to insert such a clause in the last act, as might be an undisputed explanation of his favour, from the beginning intended for Sir W. Penn's effectual reprisal; extending it to 1000*l.* a-year, over and above all charges, quit rents, and reprizes. Upon which, Mr. Solicitor, discoursing with Sir W. Penn, desired him to set his heart at rest; his life and estate on't, he would secure him his 1000*l.* a-year out of lands in his possession, over and above the aforesaid charges; unless the land in his possession fall short of the said sum: if so, to be reprised out of other forfeited lands. But if, upon a commission of inquiry, there should be an overplus, that it should then be in Sir W. Penn to elect the retrenchment; which, my lords, is but the substance of Sir W. Penn's clause.

"All these particulars within mentioned, are humbly submitted to your lordships, by,

"My lords,

"Your most devoted humble servant,

"William Penn."

THE END.

LONDON:
J. MOYES, CASTLE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE.

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